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SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D.

VOL. II.

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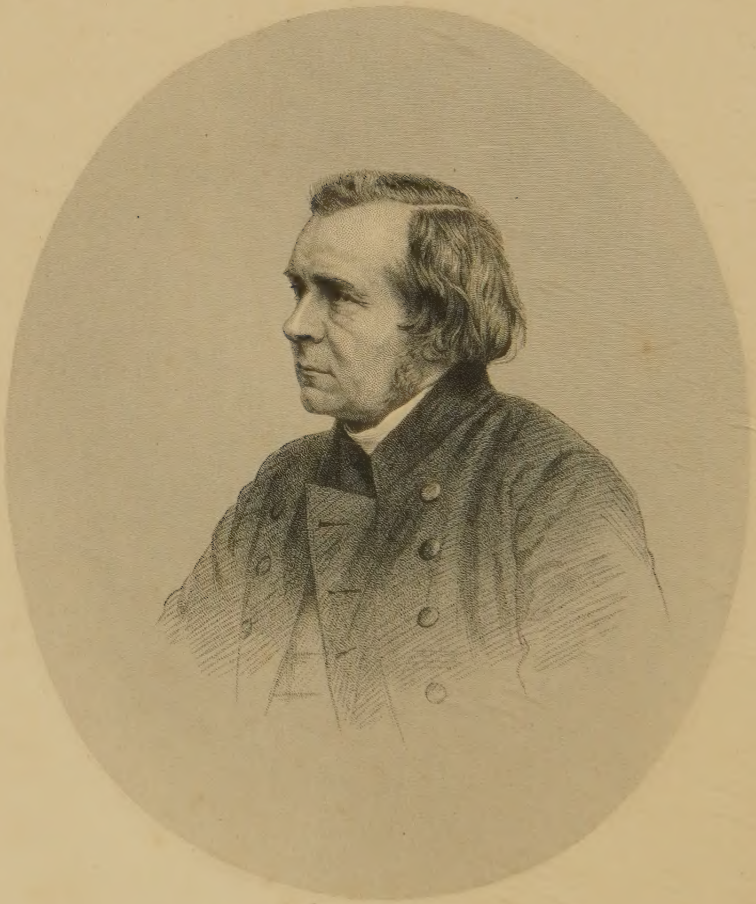
THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE LIFE OF SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., late BISHOP OF OXFORD AND WINCHESTER, with EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE. 1805–1848. Edited by the late CANON ASHWELL, M.A. With Portrait and Woodcuts, 8vo. 15*s*.



Joseph Brown sc.

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

From a Photograph by Hills & Saunders.

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD AND AFTERWARDS
OF WINCHESTER

WITH SELECTIONS FROM

HIS DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE

BY HIS SON

REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE

IN THREE VOLUMES—VOL. II.

Portrait and Two Illustrations

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1881

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM.

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PREFACE.

The lamented death of Canon Ashwell at the time when the concluding pages of the first volume of this work were passing through the printer's hands, has made it necessary to find a new Editor for the subsequent volumes. Having in the event been obliged to undertake the task which he left unfinished, I feel that I ought to state the reasons which induced me to incur so heavy a responsibility. Doubtless, as a general rule, a son is the person least capable of writing his father's life. Accordingly, in conjunction with Mr. Murray, I endeavoured to discover a writer in whom the various conditions necessary for carrying on the work were approximately satisfied; but to every practical suggestion that was made some objection occurred which in the end proved fatal. My next step was to consult a few of my Father's trusted friends, and particularly some of those who had originally suggested Canon Ashwell's name in connection with the work. They insisted that I must do what I could myself, and they generously offered me their counsel and assistance. Without such substantial encouragement it would have been impossible to have entered upon, and still more impossible to have persevered in, such an enterprise.

It is hoped that in this volume the lines traced by Canon Ashwell will not have been departed from, and that the effort to present the reader with a true picture of the Bishop's inward and outward life will not altogether have failed of success.

In such a connection it is natural to recall the classical language of a great writer of Church history:

> Mais le fondement de l'histoire est la vérité; et ce n'est pas la rapporter fidèlement que d'en supprimer une partie: un portrait flatté n'est point ressemblant. Tels sont d'ordinaire les panégyriques, où l'on fait paroître un homme louable en ne relevant que ses bonnes qualitez. Artifice grossier qui révolte les gens sensez et leur fait faire plus d'attention sur les défauts qu'on leur cache avec tant de soin: c'est une espèce de mensonge que de ne dire ainsi la vérité qu'à demi. Personne n'est obligé d'écrire l'histoire, mais quiconque l'entreprend s'engage à dire la vérité tout entière.[1]

Canon Ashwell's notes respecting the letters and entries in the Bishop's Diary which he thought it desirable to insert have been scrupulously adhered to wherever it was possible to do so; the writer not thinking himself at liberty to endanger the unity of the work by neglecting hints which since their author's death had become almost directions.

Extracts from the Bishop's Diary have been inserted without any change: no words have been inserted with a view to making the meaning clearer; and if the sentences are somewhat abrupt and elliptical, it will be felt that they are not on that account less characteristic.

[1] Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. xvi. p. xviii.

It is material to observe that the Bishop only resumed the practice of keeping a diary in the year 1853. It had apparently been interrupted since the first year of his episcopate ; but there is a daily record of a foreign tour in 1851, to which reference has been made in this volume.

Another important source of information is the Bishop's *précis* of discussions which took place at the periodical meetings of the Episcopate. Although, as a rule, this record furnishes only a condensed summary of each speech, it is sometimes clear that the exact words of a sentence, remarkable for its interest or importance, are recorded in full. Wherever this is the case the words are indicated by the use of inverted commas.

Especial prominence has been given in this volume to the Bishop's theoretical and practical attitude towards the grave subject of Confession. That subject, indeed, occupied his attention more or less throughout his ministerial life, and it is believed that no substantial variations are to be discovered in his recorded opinions about it. It may be necessary to say as much as this, since shortly after the Bishop's death a pamphlet was published which professed to contain his last utterances on the subject, but which is in reality only a partial report of what he said on the occasion to which it refers.

If to those who remember the Bishop only when he had reached the height of his moral and mental stature the picture which is suggested by these pages

should be in any respect disappointing, it will be borne in mind that this volume refers to an earlier stage of a character which was growing, up to the last moment of life, and that its true interest consists in showing how my Father came to be such as they remember him.

It is here my duty to proffer my most grateful thanks to all those dear friends of my Father who have given me their valuable assistance in editing this volume; and among these, the Lord Bishop of Ely, the Right Hon. Sir R. J. Phillimore, and the Ven. Archdeacon Pott have especial claims to be mentioned here. The Lord Archbishop of Dublin has on various occasions allowed me to refer to him for counsel and advice, which have always been most willingly rendered. My brothers, the Rev. E. R. Wilberforce, Canon of Winchester, and the Rev. Basil Wilberforce, Rector of St. Mary's, Southampton, and Hon. Canon of Winchester, wish me to express their cordial sympathy with the work, the proof sheets of which they have read, though the pressure of their various duties, parochial and other, have hindered them from taking a more active part in its production.

My thanks are also due to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Rev. Dr. Pusey, Sir Charles Anderson, the Honourable Sir A. Gordon, and the Rev. Canon Butler for so kindly allowing me to publish their letters.

R. G. WILBERFORCE.

LAVINGTON: *March* 1881.

It may be useful to subjoin a table of the Bishops who filled the English sees during the period embraced in this volume :—

		Appointed
Archbishop of Canterbury	John Bird Sumner	1848
York	Thomas Musgrave	1847
	Charles Thomas Longley	1860
Bishop of London	Charles James Blomfield	1828
	Archibald Campbell Tait	1856
Durham	Edward Maltby	1836
	Charles Thomas Longley	1856
	Honourable Henry Montagu Villiers	1860
Winchester	Charles Richard Sumner	1827
Bangor	Christopher Bethell	1830
	James Colquhoun Campbell	1859
Bath and Wells	Honourable Richard Bagot	1845
	Robert J. Eden (Lord Auckland)	1854
Carlisle	Honourable Hugh Percy	1827
	Honourable Henry Montagu Villiers	1856
	Samuel Waldegrave	1860
Chester	John Graham	1848
Chichester	Ashhurst Turner Gilbert	1842
Ely	Thomas Turton	1845
Exeter	Henry Phillpotts	1830
Gloucester and Bristol	James Henry Monk	1830
	Charles Baring	1856
Hereford	Renn Dickson Hampden	1848
Lichfield	John Lonsdale	1843
Lincoln	John Kaye	1827
	John Jackson	1853
Llandaff	Alfred Ollivant	1849
Manchester	James Prince Lee	1848
Norwich	Samuel Hinds	1849
	Honourable John Thomas Pelham	1857
Peterboro'	George Davys	1839
Ripon	Charles Thomas Longley	1836
	Robert Bickersteth	1856
Rochester	George Murray	1827
	Joseph Cotton Wigram	1860
St. Asaph	Thomas Vowler Short	1846
St. David's	Connop Thirlwall	1840
Salisbury	Edward Denison	1837
	Walter Kerr Hamilton	1854
Worcester	Henry Pepys	1841

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LIFE

OF

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

CHAPTER I.

(1848-49.)

LETTER FROM ARCHDEACON RANDALL ON DIOCESAN ORGANISATION—MEETINGS OF THE RURAL DEANS—CONFIRMATIONS—LETTER TO SIR CHARLES ANDERSON — LETTERS TO MISS L. NOEL — LITERARY BREAKFASTS — THE CHARTIST AGITATION—VERSES—'THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION'—LETTER TO ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE—EXTRACT FROM LORD CARLISLE'S DIARY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. T. W. ALLIES — DR. LUSHINGTON'S OPINION—BARON ALDERSON INTERCEDES—MR. ALLIES RECEIVED INTO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THIS VOLUME begins with the year 1848, a year with no leading events to chronicle and during which the Bishop was almost exclusively engaged in ministerial work and in perfecting and carrying on the organisation of his diocese. How this was done there is no record. The results are sufficiently apparent. But how different schemes were started, how worked out, the active brain through which they passed alone could tell. Archdeacon Randall, the Bishop's right-hand man in all practical and legal matters, in reply to an invitation to write this part of the Life, after saying how glad he should be to contribute anything that would set permanently before the Church and the world what was

the work of his dear Bishop and friend, continues : 'But I really have nothing to communicate beyond what everybody knows. His plans were his own, the execution of them was his own and what enabled him to execute them was the marvellous power he possessed of making everybody enter into his feelings and help to carry out his views. His Archdeacons and Rural Deans were an admirable machinery but if that machinery was not absolutely of his own creating, it was he who put it together and brought it into working order. He was the motive power and his was the guiding hand, always felt and always acknowledged. No Bishop ever had a staff more devotedly attached both to his person and to his objects, while at the same time they were quite independent in forming their own opinions and free in delivering their judgment upon every matter that he laid before them. The periodical meetings of this council, in which the principal clergy of all parts of the diocese were brought into contact with each other, were, I think, the chief means by which the three counties were welded into one united diocese. The life and spirit of these meetings circulated afterwards through the ruri-decanal chapters and though in these, as well as in the Cuddesdon gathering, there were various shades of opinion and free expression of them, yet all felt that there was a bond of sympathy between them and that the objects which they pursued in common were greater and more valuable than those on which they differed.

'The meetings of the three Diocesan Societies, Church Building, Spiritual Help and Education of the Poor, afterwards increased to four by the addition of the Society for the Augmentation of Poor Benefices, were intended to produce and to a considerable extent

did produce a like effect in bringing the laity of the three counties into contact and relation with each other. The constant presence of the Bishop at these meetings was the magnetic attraction that held all together and was felt throughout the diocese; while in every part of it in turn his immediate personal influence was brought to bear at Confirmations, Church Consecrations and Church openings and at the Lent Missions which he held yearly in one or other of the great towns in the diocese.

'Some of these institutions were altogether new, though they have since been beneficially introduced into other dioceses; and even those which already existed were made new by the fresh spirit and energy which our Bishop infused into them.

'The two great training institutions, Cuddesdon for candidates for Holy Orders, Culham for Schoolmasters in National Schools, were brought into being and upheld mainly by his exertions in their behalf. He was persuaded that they were necessary to the proper working of the diocese and therefore, though some of his most attached supporters doubted the expediency and others despaired of the possibility of setting them up and maintaining them, he resolutely called upon the diocese to make the effort. The requisition was answered, and the result has shown both how great was the confidence of the diocese in his designs and also the value of the work in which he pressed for their aid. Indeed, one of the great secrets of his successes was his determination never to acquiesce in the supposed impossibility of obtaining the means of carrying into effect any really desirable object. Hence the almost universal restoration of neglected and ruined churches of the diocese. Their state often seemed

hopeless; there was little inclination and as it seemed little power, in the congregations to do anything. Still, by continual application their spirits were moved; and in the end they often said, as I can bear witness, that they were most thankful that such urgent pressure had been put upon them.'

The machinery, as the Archdeacon says in the above letter, was there indeed but it took a long time to set it in motion. Seven years elapsed before the first collective meeting of the Rural Deans. At first the Rural Deans of each county came separately, then Oxfordshire and Berkshire together, at last, in 1852, the three counties met and the full council was formed. Of these later meetings, Archdeacon Pott, who was the honorary secretary, thus writes: 'There was no controverted subject, social, ecclesiastical or theological, that we were ultimately afraid to approach; subjects such as the Gorham Controversy—Observance of Sunday—Court of Appeal—Methods of dealing with Dissent — The Ornaments Rubric — Convocation—Divorce, &c. The Bishop used to say, 'Never be afraid of bringing together men of so-called opposite parties—never be afraid to discuss to the full questions on which you think you disagree.' One of the leading Rural Deans, a man whose theological views differed widely from those of the majority, says, 'I have learned here that spirituality of life is in no way confined to one section of the clergy.'

The Bishop's manner of administering the rite of Confirmation has been described.[1] The following letter written by Sir James Graham about this time further illustrates those remarks:

[1] Vol. i. p. 392 *et seq.*

I have read with attention and with great satisfaction your admirable Charge delivered to the boys at Eton after Confirmation. I had heard from my son how deep was the impression produced by it at the time. I have given the copy which you so kindly sent to him, and I pray sincerely that it may not be the good seed which has fallen by the wayside or on stony places. It is a great privilege of your high office, which must compensate for many cares and disappointments, to be enabled to address with effect such an audience of young hearers, and to place before them not only the hopes but the means of salvation.

The difference between the old method of administering this rite, (Confirmation) and the new one introduced by the Bishop is illustrated by the following story. At a certain large town a local publican presented a petition to the Bishop, asking for pecuniary compensation for loss of trade. He stated that his was the principal inn in the town; that Confirmations used to be held only occasionally; that when they were held, hundreds of young men and women used to come into the town, remaining there all day and coming at night to his house—the girls in their white Confirmation dresses; that he there gave a ball, which was always very largely attended; and that owing to the changes which the Bishop had introduced he had lost the profits he had been accustomed to make.

An instance of the power which the Bishop exercised over those who came under his immediate influence, even in these early years of his episcopate,—a power largely felt and recognised afterwards,—is shewn by this anecdote of one who was amongst the first admitted by him to Holy Orders. 'I hardly knew the Bishop, but he ordained me and I stayed at Cuddesdon at the time with the other candidates. I remember most

distinctly the impression he made upon us and how one evening as we were talking together after one of the addresses, one said, "Well, all I know is, that if the Bishop were to say, 'I am going to the Cannibal Islands to-morrow: who will go with me?' I would go directly," and each of us said, "So would I," and we would have gone gladly with him. This strong personal influence which we all felt was quite independent of similarity in theological opinion.'

In January the Bishop, who was at Cuddesdon, thus writes to his friend Sir Charles Anderson:—

> We are here, thank God, all together (except my beloved Herbert) and all pretty well. Last night we had a real Christmas revel; a meat tea at five, hosts of children and all sorts of games, a Christmas tree, acted charades, electric shocks and a great Yule log put on to close all. How I wish you and yours had been with us.

Letters to Miss Noel contain the only record of this period; some of them follow here in their chronological order. The first that is quoted was written just after the announcement of the appointment of Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Chester, to the See of Canterbury. Archbishop Howley had died on February 11.

The Bishop of Oxford to Miss Noel.

February 20.

I am very glad it is Chester, not the others. Now about myself: I feel that if it had not been for the Hampden controversy *I* should very probably have been put there. Now when I think this I have rather a sad feeling, as if *I* had made a great mistake, and thrown away a great means of usefulness. But this is only a *feeling*. I *know* that God has ordered all, and I really do not believe I would have it

otherwise, and I am sure it would have been a most *trying* position for me. Is this what you wanted to speak of to me?

On March 9 he writes :—

I have had a very pleasant visit from Robert, full as always of affection and truth and energy, and less really depressed than his letters say he is. Henry came up one night; slept, &c.; to breakfast at a literary breakfast I got up for Robert. Hallam, Mahon, Macaulay, St. David's, Sir R. Inglis, M. Milnes, Milman, and Bancroft the American Minister.

Breakfasts such as the one just mentioned were at this time much in fashion; in fact, this period might be termed the age of breakfasts. Of the great literary Clubs, Grillions—The Club and Nobody's the two first breakfasted as well as dined together on certain fixed days and many members of these clubs, among others, Macaulay, Rogers, Hallam, Lord Carlisle and the Bishop continued this custom in their own houses. The private diary of Lord Carlisle, from which, by the kindness of its editor, extracts are allowed to be taken, contains many entries of breakfasts given by the Bishop at which he was present; one of these, in 1852, is thus characteristically described:—

Breakfast with the Bishop of Oxford, Hallam, Macaulay, Milman, Argyll, Ashburton, Bunsen, Murchison, Milnes. Extremely agreeable, and would have been still more so but there was a tendency to talk very loud and all at once. It was at first a little too polemical for the party, running on the strong division against Bennett the night before in the House of Commons, and how near the doctrines of Purgatory and practices of Confession a clergyman of the Church of England might go to. I think almost all were against restricting liberty by legislation.

Other entries give the names of those present with a line at the end, such as, 'It was very pleasant.' 'A good company and it was most agreeable. The Bishop and I fought a mesmeric and electro-biological battle against the scornful opposition of all the rest.' Among the 'rest' were Macaulay, Whewell, Lord Overstone and Sir G. C. Lewis. Another entry finishes by saying, 'I think the conversation was rather etymological.'

Again, in March of this year, 1848, having heard that Miss Noel had been ill, the Bishop writes:—

> . . . This weary world will soon turn into the brightness of His presence and the sunlight of His countenance will gladden all its waste places; and be they bodily afflictions or spirit conflicts, they shall flee away, and it shall be to us as the morning spread upon the mountains. You ask about Wantage: it was quite a pleasant visit. I got there about 4 P.M. We had a large gathering of neighbours, clergy. Tea and then to a meeting of Church of England missions. Next morning service at 10. It is a noble red cruciform church, and the chancel all nicely restored by the present vicar. It was crowded by a most attentive people. I preached to them on 'The sufficiency of God,' and I never saw a congregation more hushed into earnest and devout attention. All through the Ordination there was the deepest attention. I administered the Holy Communion to 160, amongst them a large number of young people whom I confirmed here last year. We went home to dinner at 3—a party of clergy, some from Oxford, some from the neighbourhood. At 4 we went to afternoon service and Archdeacon Clerke preached. At 7 we went to an evening Litany and sermon and I preached to them. We had some talk in the evening, an 8 o'clock prayers next morning and after breakfast I came away. Butler is working his parish with admirable diligence and, at present, success. He seems to me more to combine the good of the Evangelical party with the devotion of the High Church than almost any young man I know. His only danger is on the

latter side. It has been a busy week. I have been on a sub-committee to settle terms for the National Society with the Privy Council: The new Archbishop, Lord Harrowby, Lord Redesdale and the Bishop of Sarum being the other members. I dined one day at Bingham Baring's, and met Lord Lansdowne, C. Buller, Thackeray, Carlisle, Emerson, the Castlereaghs, &c.: it was a very interesting party. Emerson is very little Yankee, tall, thin, with no atrabilious look, rather silent. This morning I got up early and finished a sermon I had sketched out yesterday after keeping the subject in my mind all the week, which I find quite the best way. Now it is late and all are gone to bed and I am greatly tired.

The year was memorable in European history: it witnessed the Revolution which dethroned Louis Philippe. This Continental disturbance made itself felt on our shores in the shape of the Chartist demonstration. The following letters refer to the threatened rising.

April 13.—Nothing can be added to what the papers told you about Monday. It was a day to be ever grateful for to God. Nothing could exceed the perfection of the old Duke's provisions, if things had issued otherwise. Having been asked to name an officer to command, he said like himself, 'I can only name the Duke of Wellington.' How horrible if he was to be slain in a street riot, after pacifying Europe and conquering Napoleon.

I wish I could convey any idea of Lord Brougham's speech on Tuesday, the great uncorking it was of the oddest bottled-up experiences, spiritual and intellectual, during the process of his journeying through revolutionary France, though indignation against all things there seemed plainly to predominate and have the sway. I have been to-day preaching for the London Hospital, having been very busy in the morning writing the sermon. I am now writing at the Hospital, having to go in presently to dine with the Lord

Mayor to meet Lord Harding on occasion of his receiving the freedom of the City. I have just been round the hospital and a striking sight it is. Its exceeding cleanliness, and the air of care for the afflicted which so palpably pervades it, is such a practical proof of what Christianity has done for us in raising the standard of all.

On April 17, the Bishop writes :—

I am asked to present two Socialist petitions and almost think of doing so in order to get an opportunity of saying something on the great Social question. I am so afraid from what I see that last Monday is quite misconstrued; that so many regard it as a proof that all is right, instead of seeing that the trust of Englishmen in those over them setting right what is wrong, is not yet worn out. I am very much afraid of injuring this great truth, so that I shrink from *starting* it, though I feel sure that if it was started and I was forced to speak, I could utter upon it some part at least of that which ought to get said.

A postscript to a letter written a month later says :—

Partly want of time to master at all the subject, partly waiting to get others to speak, has delayed the Socialist petition. Do make them read to you Lord Brougham's correspondence about his naturalisation. Only the day after saying he wished to be naturalised to show his countrymen his full confidence in the new order of things at Paris, he told us in the House of Lords that he had in it 'no confidence at all.' Van de Weyer (the Belgian Ambassador) says, 'Yes, he *wrote* as a French citizen with full confidence: he *spoke* as a Peer of England with no confidence at all.' A travestie of the address, 'Fils de Saint Louis, montez au Ciel,' addressed to Louis Philippe, 'Fils d'Egalité, montez en Fiacre.' Lord Brougham in coming back to England not only had much of his luggage stopped as he came out of Lyons, as being too much for a good citizen but three times between there and

Paris was forced out of his carriage to salute 'Trees of Liberty.' Conceive his face under the last operation.

The next letter refers to H.R.H. Princess Louise.

May 18.

The Royal Christening was a very beautiful sight in its highest sense of that word beauty. The Queen with the 5 Royal Children around her, the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal hand in hand, all kneeling down quietly and meek at every prayer and the little Princess Helena alone *just* standing and looking round with the blue eye of a gazing innocence. I have been, since I began at the Ecclesiastical Commission writing this, at a meeting of the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Working Classes, the Prince in the chair. He spoke really excellently: not at all like a learned-by-heart speech: very thoughtful, and the language very good indeed.

June 8.—I was very busy yesterday with a most stormy meeting at the National Society. The high 'Mountain' party attended in force on a summons sent round by Mr. G. Denison: they were most furious, dissatisfied with Government and the National Society, and Denison moved that no plan for receiving Government Grants on condition of any Management clauses, could satisfy the Church. The Archbishop and the Committee requested me to answer him and move an amendment. I never spoke, since I addressed the Newport Radicals, to so hostile an audience but through God's help and the truth of my cause, I so won them over that the motion was withdrawn. I had much gratitude from my Brethren, &c. and thank God humbly for having prospered me.

The following letters are of a different type: the two first are specimens of work as well as of activity: the other tells its own story and needs no introduction.

April 20.—I am just going to the Ecclesiastical Commission,

and then to the Bounty Board, then to the National Society, then to the House of Lords, and then home to tea and evening.

July 7.—On Monday I was all day full of business, at the National Society, Committee of House of Lords, House of Lords and dining with the Archdeacon brother at Lord Morpeth's. Tuesday I was up at 4 to write a sermon I had been thinking through the week, and at ¼ after 7 was in the carriage on the way to the consecration of Bradfield, near Reading, a most beautiful new church, built munificently, instead of an old one ruinous, at the sole cost of the incumbent. I reached there a little before 10 from the Pangbourne station. Had the service, preached and administered to 280 communicants. The service was over a little before 3, and I at once went back to Pangbourne: found the train in which were my guests: the Guizot party: the Goughs, Calthorps, Hallam, Lord Harrowby and Aldersons: we came on to Oxford—lionised it and out to Cuddesdon, very late to dinner. Yesterday morning early breakfast and in to Oxford to Commemoration, &c., finished lionising Guizot over it.

November 25.—You will like to hear a few words of E——'s [2] and my doings. On Monday I went to Oxford, had a nice Confirmation of young academics, some showing very deep feeling, saw my hunting and other clerks, and got on to Col. North's, Wroxton Abbey, quite the northern end of my diocese, to dinner. It is a fine old abbey house, with many North portraits, &c. There we slept, and drove on the next day over Edgehill to Warwick, saw the Castle, E—— being much interested in it and on by rail to Burton-on-Trent, where Anson's royal carriage met us, and we trotted on to Needwood. There we found only the Ansons and his cousin Lady Waterpark and her little girl. The next day after breakfast wrote letters, &c., and then had a ride, E——, Anson and I, about the Forest. It is very beautiful in parts: from the beauty of hanging woods and most magnificent hollies sprinkled freely about in the most picturesque situations

[2] His daughter.

amongst the larger trees. Wednesday we had a large party of Foresters to dinner; a grandson, (Guy) *inter alios* of old Mr. Gisborne's and old times seemed strangely to come back upon me. Thursday morning being beautiful, after many business letters we had a walk and after luncheon a ride to Bagot's Park. *There* are the noblest oaks in England and I suppose therefore in the world. One the Queen of the Forest, majestic in height, as well as girth: one the Beggar's Oak, of an almost unimaginable extent and multitude of branches. Friday morning the school service and sermon in poor Ryder's old church, where 15 years ago I had preached for him, he even then greatly mistrusting my doctrine, and beloved Sophia[3] being, I well remember, quite melted under sounds which spoke to her of other days and her Father's church. Then followed a luncheon at their old Vicarage (the congregation and collection were abundant). Then a walk in the Forest, and no one to dinner, a very dear little girl of Lady Waterpark's of 5 being there. This morning at ½ past 7 we started and very cold it has been. I am now nearing the end of my railroad journey and hope to see the brougham and home news in a very little while. I do not at all think that I have lost now all hope of keeping my Nov. 30[4] quite quiet. I could not do so this year. But I humbly hope that last year I had far more of entire withdrawal into secret communion with God, and self-searching, than perhaps you may conceive possible without a more formal and apparent removing from others. I believe it is one advantage of a busy life that it generates habits of introversion and quietness and aspiration in business, and to such a blessed end the prayers, I doubt not, of my dearest sister, from a sick room, have ere this helped me.

Binfield, December 20.—We had a happy service yesterday and a large clerical communion—no less than 152*l.* in the offertory. It is very cheering to me to see church after church thus revive in its material fabric, and to know that, almost without one single exception, the restoration of the

[3] Mrs. Ryder, the Bishop's sister-in-law.

[4] The day of the Bishop's consecration.

building has accompanied a more earnest or an earnest living ministry. *This* is a very nice family. Randall, my chaplain, was a lawyer, and has all the lawyer's intellectual acuteness carried off into the pastor's honesty and tenderness. You never said a word about my Torquay letters or the verses I sent you :

The sea breeze breathes as softly as it did breathe of old,
The ships are gathered, as of yore, within their ocean fold,
The bluff rocks breast as proudly the mad waves' war and surf,
The streamlets steal as gently throughout the emerald turf;
The little waves still leap upon the sparkling sand,
And cast, with hissing murmur, their burden on the strand:
All is as when we looked on it : the lanes through which we walked,
The turret stairs we mounted, the banks on which we talked ;
Flowers, bright as those we gathered, spring where our wild flowers sprung,
And still the birds sing sweetly, as if to us they sung ;
But *thou* hast left me here alone, and oh ! my heart is sore,
And from these eyes the bitter tears now cannot choose but pour ;
For when silver waves are murmuring, and flowers are gleaming bright,
And when soft airs are sighing, in evening's rosy light,
I miss thy fond hand's pressure, and the music of thy voice,
And the deep light of thine eyes, which made this heart rejoice ;
Till oft I long in sadness to break the weary chain
Which binds me to this earth, and be with thee again ;
But then a still voice near me, falls on my inmost heart,
Still whispering to me, ' Faint not, nor from thy burden start ;
In love I did appoint it thee, and I am ever near
To share thy hidden anguish, thy stifled sob to hear :
Look to My Cross and Passion, and dare to follow Me,
Nor say that earth is barren, whilst I am there with thee. ' [5]

The publication of Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce's work on the doctrine of the Incarnation was an event in the theological life of the English Church. This work was, in fact, an expansion of or commentary on those great chapters on the subject in the Fifth Book

[5] The Bishop was at Torquay with his wife in 1826–27.

of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, which are themselves a condensation of the teaching of the greatest of the Fathers as shaped in a later age by the mind of Aquinas.[6] As directing attention to this—the noblest theological portion of Hooker's great work—as well as on the grounds of its intrinsic beauty—the Archdeacon's book was particularly welcome to the Bishop and it was free from features which are discoverable in some of its gifted author's later writings and which marked his gradual movement towards the communion of the Church of Rome. But, in the earlier portions of the 'Doctrine of the Incarnation' there is a dissertation, conceived in a realistic sense, upon the actual unity of types in nature; and it is to this philosophical element in his brother's work that the Bishop refers in the following extract :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

January 29, 1849.

My dearest Brother.—I am reading your book with great interest, and am at page 300. I am not yet clear about 'Nature,' but shall say nothing till I have read more. What seems to me at present a difficulty, is this: why should not all the phenomena from which you deduct an actual community of something be accounted for, without supposing anything traditive, or therefore 'common,' by the Creator's will having imprinted the law, that from like like should spring, though that like be new? Then I see not how you are to maintain *tradition* for the lower parts and Creationism for the soul. But I wait awhile.

I have had a most kind reception at the Castle. No cloud visible. Your ever affectionate Brother,

S. OXON.

The following extract from Lord Carlisle's diary

[6] Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 50–58.

also refers amongst other things to Archdeacon Wilberforce's book :—

September 30, 1849 (*Woburn*).—The Bishop of Oxford preached on the blighted fig tree admirably well. I thought his doctrine of fruit—good works—so very right. The Bishop conversed theologically: he thinks the extreme Evangelical doctrine tends—after being originally held by excellent and pious men—to the same results as Pantheism and Rationalism; it only looks to the individual soul and entirely omits the influences of the Mediatorial kingdom which God has established in His Church. He admires his brother's book very much, and thinks it may have great use in counteracting this tendency, but he laments its obscurity. He describes great dissatisfaction as existing in our Church, at the appointment of dignitaries without adequate qualifications.

The following letters were occasioned by the publication of a book called 'Journal in France, &c.' written by the Rev. T. W. Allies, a young High Church clergyman whose conduct had been on a former occasion severely censured by the Bishop.[7] It is necessary to mention this correspondence[8] because the Bishop was much blamed for not proceeding against Mr. Allies. The letters show (1) that the Bishop attempted to obtain from Mr. Allies some retractation or explanation of the opinions advanced in his book; (2) that on failing to do this he determined, acting on the opinion of Dr. Lushington, to take legal proceedings; (3) and that the Bishop abandoned the course he had determined on in consequence of the intervention of Baron Alderson and others who insisted that if this came before the Courts, the Church would be the sufferer. Baron Alderson and his friends obtained

[7] Vol. i. p. 405.

[8] Vide Introductory Chapter, vol. i. p. 23.

a declaration from Mr. Allies 'that he adhered to the Articles of the Church in their plain, literal and grammatical sense,' and a promise not to publish a second edition. This declaration the Bishop circulated among the clergy of Oxfordshire. The sequel shows that the estimate of Mr. Allies' tendencies formed by the Bishop from his perusal of the book was correct, as Mr. Allies resigned his living and was received into the Church of Rome.

On March 8 the Bishop wrote to Miss Noel :

I am reading Allies' of Launton 'Journal in France,' *very* painful, very interesting. I am studying it to see if I must notice it. It is the most undisguised, unblushing preference for Rome I almost ever read. But a very able view of Rome at work against infidelity in the very empire of infidelity. Fighting it partly by prayers and intercessions and truth, and partly by pasteboard weapons of lies and superstitions and gallantry put instead of devotion.

The Bishop of Oxford to Rev. T. W. Allies.

March 17, 1849.

Reverend and dear Sir,—It is with great pain that I address this letter to you ; but it is a duty from which I dare not shrink. I have this day finished the careful perusal of your recent volume, and I must call your most serious attention to the variance which, in my judgment, exists between its language and the dogmatic teachings of the Church of England. No particular extracts can, as it appears to me, *fully* exhibit this contradiction, because the general tone of your volume is more at variance with the teaching of our Church than those particular extracts themselves to which I must call your attention. Thus, for instance, your language throughout as to the celebration of the Mass and as to the Eucharist, seems to me to contradict the explicit teaching of our Church in her condemnation, in the 28th Article, of the

Roman dogma of Transubstantiation. Thus, again, your whole tone as to the Church of which you are a minister, seeming as it does to me depreciating and even insulting, implies, more than any special passage, your complete alienation from her, and your addiction to the Roman Communion; whilst your contrast between this language and your unbounded eulogies of the Papal system, and your feeble and diminishing disclaimers of her peculiarities (limited, I think, in your latter journals to her claim of exclusive jurisdiction for the Pope, to her use of prayer in a foreign tongue, and to her denial of the cup to the laity, and expressed feebly and doubtfully as to these), brings my mind painfully to the same conclusion.

Yet whilst these are, in my judgment, the worst features of your volume, there are, besides these, special declarations, which I deem directly contradictory of the language of the 39 Articles; and prepared as I am (believing it to be the righteous intention of the Church) to grant to individual minds a large latitude of statement, it will I am sure be evident to you, that I cannot allow this liberty to extend to a categorical denial of our dogmatic formularies. I inclose you, therefore, a few of these which I have extracted, and as to each of which I must require from you either such explanations as shall show that I have mistaken your meaning, and that they are reconcilable with the language of the 39 Articles; or, failing that, their unqualified retractation.

Failing one or the other of these, nothing will remain for me but to call upon you solemnly in the name of God to discontinue that ministry and to renounce those emoluments which you exercise and enjoy on the condition of holding articles of religion which you publicly contradict. I shall deliver this letter to you, God willing, on Monday, rather than send it before, since it would make your meeting me at the Confirmation, before I have received your answer, painful to us both. I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

S. Oxon.

Mr. Allies' answer being, in the Bishop's judgment,

unsatisfactory, the Bishop wrote to him again on March 24, pressing for a direct reply :

It gives me much pain to be obliged to say to you that your reply to my last letter has been most unsatisfactory to me. Before I wrote to you I had carefully noted all the passages to which you refer me ; and had formed my estimate of the real tone of your work with them in my mind. They seem to me to amount to no more than assertions of your affection to the Prayer Book, if it is interpreted according to your own opinion. The part of my communication which needed the most direct reply you have left almost untouched, under the allegation that my letter closes with a threat. I think that if you look again at it, you will perceive that it contains nothing but a declaration that if you cannot show that your statements do not contradict the Articles, and will not retract them, I shall appeal to your own conscience as to whether it is honest to maintain your position as a paid teacher of doctrines you formally deny. To this part of my letter I must then recall your attention. I have laid before you a set of passages expressing *your own conclusions* which appear to me to contradict the dogmatic teaching of the Articles. You reply only as to two of these. As to the first, I gladly accept your assurance that you meant nothing more than is meant by the expression 'pure' or chaste 'Virgin' in our Collect. I only regret that your language should have been such as to suggest to my mind a wholly different sense ; or what in a recent encyclical letter is called 'The pious opinion that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without the original stain.' Your answer to my second objection quite misses the point really in question. I quote words of yours which seem to assert a bodily presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament, and these, without further explanation, you allege are justified by the assertion in our Catechism of His *Spiritual* presence. To my quotations of passages in which you justify (1) the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, though it is distinctly condemned in the Articles and in the dogmatic statement appended to our Communion Office ; (2) the invo-

cation of saints; (3) the use of relics, &c., you say nothing. You cannot, I conceive, acknowledge the authority of my office, without allowing that you are bound on my requiring it, as again I do, to explain, justify, or retract distinct passages in your published work against which I except as directly contradicting the letter and spirit of our Articles and Formularies. I now require once more from you such explanation, justification, or retractation, and I require you to deal directly and honestly with my charge. You must, I think, perceive the difference between condemning others of idolatry of which you speak as if I required you to do that, and justifying your own adoption for yourself of these statements though those statements are condemned by our Church. Nothing but Truth is dearer to me than Peace; and I shall therefore be heartily rejoiced by your freeing yourself from the imputation which your published words seem to me to cast upon you. I am, Reverend and dear Sir, very truly yours,

S. OXON.

On April 2 the Bishop writes as follows to Miss Noel:—

I have great trouble with Mr. Allies; he has given me most evasive answers to the questions I have been obliged to put to him. He wishes to make out that he may hold all Roman doctrine except the Pope's supremacy, and remain with us. I am now taking an opinion whether his *words* make his *meaning* plain enough for me to proceed in the Courts against him.

Dr. Lushington to the Bishop of Oxford.

April 8, 1849.

My dear Lord,—I felt that you would be anxious to have my opinion upon Mr. Allies' case with as little delay as was consistent with a due consideration of so grave a question, so I determined to give my time to it as consecutively as possible. I will proceed step by step. 1. I apprehend it to be an Ecclesiastical offence for a clergyman to publish *anywhere*

doctrines inconsistent with the Articles. 2. That the Bishop of the diocese within which such clerk holds preferment may prosecute the clerk for such offence (3 & 4 Vict., ch. 86, sect. 13), though that sect. is not quite reconcilable with sect. 3. 3. The Arches Court must take for its guide the Articles and Liturgy, and expound the meaning according to the Directions contained in the Declaration preceding the Articles. So construing the 22nd Article, and having read the whole book and several times the passage referred to, I cannot entertain any reasonable doubt that the book does impugn the doctrines of the Church as contained in the 22nd Article, and as that Article would be legally interpreted. 4. I have come to the same conclusion as to the 28th and 31st Articles. 5. I think that the whole tenor of the book and its effect is to disparage the Church of England as compared with the Church of Rome, and that not—as is insinuated—in its practice at this day, but in its constitution. This I deem in a clergyman to be an Ecclesiastical offence. On the whole, therefore, I have satisfied my own mind that a prosecution would be attended with success. I cannot say beyond all doubt, because a good deal must depend upon the management of the case, and especially the proper shaping of the charges. With regard to other considerations I have always felt, and do unfeignedly feel great reluctance to recommend a prosecution against a clergyman. In many cases I have thought it better for the true interest of the Church to pass over errors in conduct and discipline. I should be inclined to follow the same view in some cases of doctrine, and my reason would be the evil consequences which always result from the agitation in courts of law of such questions, the inevitable tendency to widen the breach between the two extreme parties of the clergy, to exasperate existing feelings of antagonism, and by these means to shake the peace and concord which, when it can be secured without the sacrifice of principles, is above all price. So strongly am I impressed with these sentiments that, if I thought the evil to arise would be confined to the readers of the book, I should pause before I concluded a prosecution to be advisable. But there is

another view of this question. The author is an incumbent in your diocese: to apprehend that he will disseminate Romish doctrines within his cure is not suspicion, but a reasonable probability from his published work; hence very serious mischief may arise. A very few years since an incumbent went over to the Church of Rome with no inconsiderable portion of his flock; the probable effects in the vicinity must not be left out of view. Again, the publication of this book is matter of notoriety. It has not only come to your knowledge, but you have taken notice of it; if evil consequences should arise there are some certainly who would attach blame to your Lordship, and as this undoubtedly would be a mischief, so ought care to be taken to avoid such a result. For these reasons I am compelled to come to the conclusion that a prosecution is the lesser evil, but I would pray your Lordship to weigh the reasons that I have assigned, for I have stated them more fully that the conclusion I have come to may be rejected if the reasons are not sufficient. . . . I am very sincerely yours,

S. LUSHINGTON.

Unwilling, however, to trust solely to his own judgment, the Bishop had sent copies of his letters with Mr. Allies' answers to Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, who, in his reply, says that he entirely agrees with the Bishop and rejects Mr. Allies' explanations. 'It leaves no doubt of the animus of the writer, he is only looking for authorities to justify him in adopting Romish opinions and practices, while he still continues a beneficed minister of our Church.' Bishop Kaye, however, did not concur in the proposal to bring Mr. Allies to trial. Acting, then, upon this advice the Bishop wrote the following:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. T. W. Allies.

April 9, 1849.

Reverend and dear Sir,—It gives me much pain to be obliged again to express to you my dissatisfaction with your last letter. It would not, I think, be difficult to show that the passages you have quoted in justification of your own statements either do not apply to the matter before us, or taken in their full context do not fairly bear the meaning you put on them; or are from writers who are of no authority on this subject. But I take a higher objection to the line of defence you have adopted. My charge against you is that your words most directly contravene the plain letter of the Thirty-nine Articles. A *catena* from other writers is no answer to this charge. The letter and grammatical meaning of the Articles themselves is that to which your statements must be referred. I therefore deem it useless to enter further with you on the subject in the way of argument. But you will, I think, see that I cannot with a clear conscience allow doctrine which I judge directly to contravene the Articles on important points to be publicly put forth by one of my Presbyters without my taking notice of his conduct. At the same time I am most anxious to avoid, if possible, the scandal and the pain of calling you into a Court of Law. Neither do I desire myself to dogmatise. I therefore make you the following offer. Will you *engage* to submit yourself to my judgment in this matter if on referring your book and the letters which have passed between us, either to the Archbishop of the Province, or if you prefer the judgment of your brother Presbyters. to the Regius Professors of Divinity, Pastoral Theology, and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, with the request that they will give me in writing their judgment as to *the fact*, whether your statements do or do not contradict the Thirty-nine Articles or any of them, I receive their written confirmation of my own judgment upon this point? I am, Reverend and dear sir, yours very faithfully,

S. OXON.

On April 23 the Bishop again wrote to Mr. Allies pressing for an answer to the above letter. Mr. Allies wrote on April 25, declining the reference on the ground that no individual could decide such a point, because any such decision would fix a sense upon the Articles which he contended was not necessarily or confessedly the true one.

After Mr. Allies' answer of April 25, the Bishop had no course left open to him but to take the case into the Court of Arches; he therefore determined to do so and retained counsel on his behalf. Two days, however, after the apparent termination of the correspondence it was reopened by Baron Alderson. Baron Alderson was a friend of both parties: and his letter, which is given below, led to important results.

Baron Alderson to the Bishop of Oxford.

April 28, 1849.

My dear Lord,—A very great affection which I have long felt and still feel for Allies must be my excuse for troubling you about him. I was sorry for his book, with which I individually do not agree. Indeed, if I had been consulted by him, I should have advised a great portion of it to be omitted. I agree with you that there are parts very objectionable, but I think it will be very difficult to lay the law's finger upon them. But this is not the point. Supposing that after a long, tedious and acrimonious discussion, in which points of minute heterodoxy are ventilated in the Ecclesiastical Court, a successful issue is obtained and judgment given against Allies, a problematical result I conscientiously believe, yet at what expense and danger of schism will it be obtained. These Oxonians, whose tendencies go towards Rome, as others who have gone towards Geneva, will die out if judiciously left to themselves. They will in the end do good. Wesley woke up the Church from her lethargy and breathed into her an Evan-

gelical spirit. With this great good he did some great harm also. These are correcting the harm by introducing a more Rubrical and formal spirit into the Church and reviving her discipline and drawing attention to the real value of her Sacraments and Order. They, like Wesley, are doing harm by running into the opposite extreme. I will only add one word more. I do really believe, and that from good authority, that this proceeding against Allies will produce probably a schism and will drive out some whom we all and you espepecially would wish most ardently to retain within our Church. And as to Allies himself, I admit his errors, which I agree are errors, but I would set against them a self-denying life, a liberal spirit to which money is really as dross, an unimpeachable morality, a great mass of learning, and the having written one of the best books [9] against the vital principle of Rome—her supremacy. That was a great help to our English Church in the pending controversy. Is it desirable to drive out of the Church such a man; or is it not desirable by a wise and kind abstinence and by showing him kindly his errors, or letting them expend themselves noiselessly and without mischief, to retain within our own Church one of its most learned and holy—even if erring—members? With many apologies for this letter, believe me in all true affection yours,

E. M. ALDERSON.

This was followed by a second letter, saying that he had seen Mr. Allies, who was

Quite willing to say that you having expressed an opinion that scandal had been justly given by the publication, a consequence he did not contemplate and one which he deeply regrets, he is anxious to prevent it in future by making no further publication of the book. May I venture to entreat for myself that you will be kindly satisfied upon this to adopt the conclusion I urged on you in my former letter, which you so kindly and readily attended to? I have seen Manning, Pusey

[9] The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism.

and Richards since I talked with you, as well as Edward Coleridge and his brother the Judge. They all certify to me that they certainly know that the discussion of this subject will unsettle MANY minds which for the sake of the peace of the Church it is desirable to keep quiet, and that an extensive schism would be likely to be the consequence of further proceedings. I do myself believe they are right.

The result of this intervention is shown by the following letter to the Archdeacon of Oxford accompanied by Mr. Allies' declaration of his adherence to the Articles.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archdeacon of Oxford.

London, May 18, 1849.

My dear Archdeacon,—I have received the inclosed letter from Mr. Allies, expressing his regret that there is anything in his recently published work which has brought upon him the censure of his Bishop, withdrawing it from future circulation (the first edition being now sold), and pledging himself to teach and preach in future in the plain literal and grammatical sense of the Articles. And after consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who have looked with me into the case in all its bearings, I have resolved to abstain from originating legal proceedings against him for this publication and to accept this submission, which I request you to make known to the clergy of my diocese. I am, my dear Archdeacon, ever most truly yours,

S. OXON.

The Ven. Archdeacon Clerke.

The Rev. T. W. Allies to the Bishop of Oxford.

Launton, Bicester, May 15, 1849.

My Lord,—I regret that anything in the book that I have published should appear to my Diocesan to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, or calculated to depreciate

that Church in comparison with the Church of Rome ; and I undertake not to publish a second edition of the work. I declare my adherence to the Articles in their plain, literal and grammatical sense, and will not preach or teach anything contrary to such Articles in their plain, literal and grammatical sense. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's dutiful servant in Christ,

THOS. W. ALLIES.

The Lord Bishop of Oxford.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. T. W. Allies.

August 27, 1849.

Reverend and dear Sir,—Owing to my not being in the habit of seeing the *Tablet* newspaper, I have only just become aware through the Oxford paper of the existence of a letter stated to have been addressed by you on the second of June to the editor of the *Tablet* newspaper, containing the following words: 'I adore (at the celebration of the Eucharist) with the adoration due only to God the Lord Jesus Christ, truly, really, personally and substantially present under the species of bread and wine.' I shall be obliged by your informing me if that published letter is to be attributed to yourself, and if you adhere to the doctrinal statement contained in the words above quoted, and if so, whether you consider them as reconcilable with the doctrine of the Prayer Book and the Articles of the Church of England taken in their strict literal and grammatical sense. I am, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

To this, no answer was given, but on September 3 the Bishop received a letter from Mr. Allies, apprising him of his intention to resign the living, and requesting the Bishop to provide for the ensuing Sunday services. Mr. Allies, within a short period, was received into the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER II.

(1850.)

'LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY'—MEETING AS TO GREAT EXHIBITION—'THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR'—THE FIRST MISSION IN THE DIOCESE—ACCOUNT OF MISSION AT BANBURY—THE GORHAM JUDGMENT—LETTERS TO MR. BUTLER AND SIR CHARLES ANDERSON—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH ON BISHOP OF LONDON'S BILL—LETTERS TO ARCHDEACON BERENS AND MR. COWAN—SUNDAY OBSERVANCE—LETTER TO REV. C. BARTER—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. GLADSTONE AND THE BISHOP AS TO ARCHDEACON MANNING—REASONS FOR THE ARCHDEACON'S SECESSION—VISIT TO SCOTLAND—MRS. SARGENT—DEATH OF MRS. RYDER—PAPAL AGGRESSION—MEETINGS AT READING AND OXFORD—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH AT OXFORD—THE COUNTER PROTESTS—THE BISHOP'S REPLIES TO THEM—CIRCULAR LETTER TO ALL THE BISHOPS—DR. DALLAS AND THE BISHOP—THE BISHOP VINDICATES HIMSELF 'AS NO PARTY MAN'—LETTER TO HIS BROTHER ON RITUAL—LETTER TO LORD ASHLEY.

In the January of this year Mr. Bentley, the well-known publisher, requested the Bishop to undertake the task of writing or rather compiling the work, afterwards entrusted to Dr. Hook, of the 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.' Mr. Bentley's proposal was, that a gentleman who had made the subject a matter of special study should contribute the result of his labours and that the Bishop should then undertake the editorship of the work. The following letter to the Rev. W. Christmas, the gentleman referred to, shows that for two years after Mr. Bentley's proposal the Bishop seriously considered adding this to his already greatly increasing labours; it also gives the Bishop's reason for ultimately declining the proposal.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. Christmas.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 9, 1852.

Rev. and dear Sir,—I have delayed thus long replying to you in the hope that I might be able to give an affirmative answer, not to your last but to your penultimate offer. I still fear that I should not have time to do the work as it should be done. But I am willing to make the attempt thus. If you will send to me the rough materials of any one life I shall be able to judge how far I can hope to execute the work. I could not agree *with any one* to such a proposal, because it would, in my judgment, greatly savour of putting my name to what was not really mine. Perhaps you will communicate this to Mr. Bentley. I am, Rev. and dear Sir, ever very truly yours,

S. Oxon.

On February 21 a public meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held at Willis's Rooms, the High Bailiff being in the chair, on the subject of the proposed Industrial Exhibition: Lord Carlisle, the Bishop of London, Lord Brougham, the Chevalier de Bunsen, the French, Belgian, and American Ministers being among the speakers. The Bishop moved the second resolution, which was seconded by Lord Ashley and supported by Lord Canning; it was to this effect: 'That this meeting is of opinion that all consumers, especially the working classes, will be materially benefited by such Exhibition as that of 1851, from the tendency it will have to bring into general use the best productions.' The following letter bears upon the speech the Bishop made on the occasion:—

Colonel Phipps to the Bishop of Oxford.

Buckingham Palace, Feb. 23, 1850.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—The Prince has commanded me to thank you, in H.R.H.'s name, very much for your

attendance at the meeting yesterday and for your speech, which he considers *by far the best* that was delivered upon that occasion. It has been considered so judicious, so eloquent and so likely to prove effective in the country, that it is intended to print it for circulation among the working classes and in this circle of society it is believed, and the Prince fully concurs in the belief, that 'the dignity of labour' will become a proud and a valuable watchword. It is proposed that this should be followed up by the establishment of a committee, partly formed by working men (with a view of forming similar Committees in different parts of the country), and I am directed to enquire whether you object to be upon and assist in this Committee.[1] It is proposed to ask the co-operation of people like Lord Ashley, Mr. C. Dickens, Dr. Southwood Smith, and those most frequently in communication with the best of the working classes. Very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

The following account of the first mission held in the Diocese of Oxford is taken from 'The Guardian.' It forms a striking contrast to the missions of the present day.

Having seen in your paper of the last two weeks a short notice of the 'Lent Mission' lately undertaken by the Bishop of Oxford in some of the large towns of his diocese, it may probably be interesting to your readers to have a more full account of a work so new in its character and, so far as it has yet been carried out, so successful.

The importance of a work of this kind must not be measured by the immediate effect produced. It is the be-

[1] The Committee was formed, Mr. Cole being the Secretary. The Bishop appears to have taken a leading part in inviting different persons to help in this work. Some refused because they did not think the Exhibition would benefit the working classes. One of the answers the Bishop received is worth preserving. 'John Bright begs to inform the Bishop of Oxford, that he declines to have his name on the Committee intended to interest the working classes in the Exhibition of 1851; his many engagements rendering it impossible for him to give any attention to the subject.'

ginning of a movement not merely in the Church but of the Church in one diocese, to adapt herself so far as existing laws allow to the altered circumstances and pressing needs of her children. It is the first step towards a more energetic and united action in dealing with the souls of men—an endeavour to break through the trammels of traditionary rules, which left the clergy to cope single-handed, or nearly so, with great and overwhelming difficulties. For the first time, I believe, for centuries, an English Bishop has been seen giving to the earnest parochial clergy of his diocese active personal assistance in rousing the lukewarm, or reclaiming the erring children of her Church and for this purpose bringing to bear on a particular point the full weight of her divine organisation.

For a long period the Bishops of the English Church have been too much regarded as Episcopi, or overlookers, of the clergy only ; or, according to the idea of one of our leading statesmen, as merely ordaining, confirming, Church-consecrating functionaries.

The mission began at Wantage, moved to Farringdon, and afterwards to Banbury. In this large and important town the effect was most striking and most successful.

The Bishop arrived at Banbury at eight o'clock in the evening of Saturday, attended by his chaplain, and two of the clergy of his diocese selected for the work. He proceeded immediately to the parish school-room, where were assembled the communicants of the parish, about two hundred in number. To them, after some short time spent in prayer, he explained the object for which he had come among them and called on them to aid him in the work by their prayers, and by inducing any whom they might know to be living in impenitence or worldliness or to have fallen back from their first earnestness to attend the services and sermons of the mission.

Sunday morning brought before the people of Banbury a spectacle of a new and impressive character. The Bishop had made arrangements for holding his Lent Ordination in this place. At ten o'clock a long procession formed of

sixteen candidates for holy orders, in surplices and hoods, followed by twelve clergy of the diocese, also in surplice, hood and stole, and lastly by the Bishop, moved slowly and in silence from the vicarage to the church, preceded by the churchwardens. The church, though a building of a bad style, has an imposing character from its great size and massiveness and was in its form singularly well adapted to the purposes of the mission. It contains seats for two thousand seven hundred persons, and was full, and the chancel being of due proportions afforded ample room for the clergy, who were ranged kneeling in two rows on either side. It was probably the first time that the great majority of the people present had witnessed an Ordination, or had any clear idea of the way in which the clergy of the Church receive their commission to teach and to minister Christ's sacraments. The holy communion was attended by more than one hundred and fifty persons and the whole service lasted five hours. Yet at three o'clock the Church was again full, when about one hundred and twenty young persons of Banbury were confirmed, the Bishop addressing them at some length and with much force and earnestness. And at seven another vast number, nearly three thousand, were assembled in the church, when the Bishop set before them a vivid heart-stirring picture of the sinner in death and judgment, with earnest exhortations to repentance.

On the following morning at half-past seven nearly one hundred and sixty persons partook of the Holy Communion and were addressed by the Bishop from the altar steps on fellowship with Christ in His death, and that clear, fervid setting forth of the great doctrines of the cross of Christ left an impression which will not lightly pass away from the hearts of those who heard it.

Immediately after this service the Bishop was obliged to leave the mission for a day to attend the important debate on the Ecclesiastical Commission. In the meantime the mission work was carried on by the clergy appointed by him. The service at eleven o'clock was well attended ; in the afternoon the church was filled with children of the various

schools, including those of the Dissenters, who asked leave to be present, when an address was delivered to them on the holiness of childhood and in the evening the large building was again filled, when the need of conversion and its nature formed the subject of the preacher's sermon. On Tuesday many of the townspeople again assisted at the early celebration of the Lord's Supper and the number present at the other services continued to increase.

The clergy from the neighbouring parishes sympathised heartily in the work, and the procession from the vicarage included men of every school, anxious to show, by conforming outwardly to the vestments and order prescribed by the Bishop, that they were willing to join with him confidingly in a spirit of unity and love. On the morning of Wednesday six-and-twenty clergy were assembled, of whom the greater part were drawn from the adjoining parishes. The number at the early communion had swelled to two hundred, and at the eleven o'clock service the vast Church was again filled, containing probably upwards of 2,500 souls. The Bishop then preached the concluding sermon on Perseverance. Earnest, eloquent, and full of wise, holy and affectionate counsel, it must have gone home to many a heart among the thousands present. And, as the long procession of the Bishop and his clergy swept forth from the Church for the last time, numbers of all classes were seen standing in detached groups, scattered here and there over the broad open space before the Church, gazing, as it seemed, sadly in the thought that they might never again hear the deep stirring words of their Bishop, or join in those peculiarly solemn services. There may have been many there who mourned that, according to the law of God's dealings with his creatures, to which the Bishop had touchingly alluded, occasions of repentance and calls to conversion, or to a higher state of grace, sweep by us in life and while men are not rejecting but not accepting the call, intending but still lingering, they are gone.

Yet there is no doubt that the mission did not pass from Banbury and leave it as it found it. There were signs of a

stirring of the heart in many: and some few availed themselves of the offer of special guidance and counsel from the Bishop or the clergy of the mission. The Church had exhibited herself before the people in her true character, as a divinely-ordered society, set up on earth to win and train souls for heaven. Her Bishop had become known to them as a preacher of repentance and of the Gospel of Christ, warning, exhorting, pleading, with all earnestness, and ready to receive in private, and guide and encourage with ghostly counsel, the meanest sinner in his diocese. The long and ordered stream of surpliced clergy, which passed continually during each day in reverent silence to and from the Church, was felt to be no mere outward show. It was but the seemly order of a real work, marking its true character. The long hours passed in united prayer in church, the few minutes spent in earnest supplication with their Bishop in the vestry before and after each service and the daily partaking of the holy communion, must have had a lasting influence for good on the clergy who responded so readily to their Bishop's call. And the counsel and example of the Bishop and the sympathy of many brethren must have left the earnest vicar of the parish strengthened and encouraged to carry out the work begun with increased energy, as with enlarged prospect of success. The immediate establishment of a weekly communion at an early hour was but one proof that the mission would leave on the parish a permanent effect. Neither was the surrounding neighbourhood without its share in the benefit of the mission, for at six adjoining parishes the people were called together to special services and sermons on repentance, conversion, death and judgment, preached by those whom the Bishop sent forth for this purpose to crowded churches.

On March 8 the long-expected judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Gorham case was delivered. In order to understand after such a lapse of time why this judgment caused so much excitement as it did, and before showing how the Bishop

treated the matter with reference to his own diocese, it is necessary to give a short account of the case itself.

The Rev. J. C. Gorham, a beneficed clergyman in the Diocese of Exeter, was presented by the Lord Chancellor to another living in the same diocese—the Vicarage of Brampford Speke. Before proceeding to institute Mr. Gorham in his new preferment, the Bishop of Exeter (Phillpotts) proceeded to put certain questions upon the Church's teaching with regard to the Sacrament of Baptism. One of these questions was, 'Does the Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants duly baptized are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost?' Mr. Gorham's reply did not satisfy the Bishop, who then refused to institute.

According to the ecclesiastical law, when a Bishop without good cause refuses or unduly delays to admit and institute a Clerk to the church to which he is presented, the Clerk may have his remedy against the Bishop in the Ecclesiastical Court, as the patron may in the Temporal Court.

This remedy the Clerk obtains by a form of procedure entitled *duplex querela*; according to which if the Bishop refuse to institute, there is an appeal to the Archbishop; if the Archbishop refuse, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which has taken the place of the old Court of Delegates. Mr. Gorham had recourse to this proceeding, which, though it had fallen into practical desuetude, still legally existed. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed the sentence of the Dean of Arches, and they said—

After the litigation had thus commenced, and Mr. Gorham had called upon the Bishop to state why institution was refused, it became evident that the reasons must be con-

sidered upon legal principles, and it was perhaps reasonably to be expected that both parties would require a strict and formal proceeding in which what was the particular unsound doctrine imputed to Mr. Gorham would have been distinctly alleged which constituted his alleged offence.

Unfortunately this course was not adopted. The Bishop proceeded by act on petition ; and in his act he stated his charge against Mr. Gorham, and alleged 'that it appeared to him in the course of the examination that Mr. Gorham was of unsound doctrine respecting the great and fundamental point of Baptism, inasmuch as Mr. Gorham held, and persisted in holding, that spiritual regeneration is not given or conferred in that holy sacrament—in particular that infants are not made members of Christ and children of God—contrary to the plain teaching of the Church of England in her Articles and Liturgy, and especially contrary to divers offices, of Baptism, the office of Confirmation, and the Catechism, severally contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland.'

In part supply of proof of the premisses the Bishop referred to a book written and published by Mr. Gorham, containing amongst other things the several questions put by the Bishop to Mr. Gorham in the course of the examination, and Mr. Gorham's several answers to the same questions. The inconvenience of this course of proceeding is so great, and the difficulty of coming to a right conclusion is thereby so unnecessarily increased, that in our opinion the judge below would have been well justified in refusing to pronounce any opinion upon the case as appearing upon such pleadings ; and in requiring the parties, even at the last moment, to bring forth the case in a regular manner by plea and proof.

The case comes before us in precisely the same state ; and although the counsel on both sides have used their best endeavours to remove the vagueness and uncertainty found in the pleadings, as well as in the examination, and have

thereby much assisted us, they have not been able entirely to remove the difficulty.[2]

It was a most peculiar case. What was the exact view which Mr. Gorham held is very difficult to discover. The doctrine which the Privy Council extracted from his answers given to the Bishop was this :—

> That Baptism is a sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but that the grace of regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of Baptism that regeneration invariably takes place in Baptism ; that the grace may be granted before, in, or after Baptism ; that Baptism is an effectual sign of grace, by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it—in them alone it has a wholesome effect ; and that without reference to the qualification of the recipient it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace. That infants baptised, and dying before actual sin, are certainly saved ; but that in no case is regeneration in Baptism unconditional.

This case, therefore, will be found on examination not to support the view sometimes, but erroneously, entertained of it, as deciding that it is competent for a clergyman of the Church of England to hold without qualification, that infant children are not regenerated by virtue of the Sacrament of Baptism.

The Court which delivered this judgment was not unanimous ; the dissentients were the Bishop of London (Blomfield) and Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Knight Bruce ; the majority included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Musgrave).

The Privy Council remitted the case to the Court of Arches, before which tribunal no further steps were taken, and the Dean of the Arches therefore acting

[2] Sir R. Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i. pp. 443, 444.

for the Archbishop of Canterbury, instituted Mr. Gorham to the vicarage of Brampford Speke. The Bishop of Exeter then applied for a prohibition to each of the Courts in Westminster Hall on technical grounds, but without avail. He further wrote a letter to the Archbishop, which was printed, in which he declared 'that if he obeyed the Queen's monition he (the Archbishop) was a favourer and supporter of Mr. Gorham's heresies;' and finished by saying 'that I cannot without sin—and by God's grace I will not—hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears;' he also told his clergy that he 'renounced communion with the Archbishop.'

The Bishop, writing to his brother the Archdeacon on March 26, thus refers to the Bishop of Exeter's printed letter: 'The Bishop of Exeter's pamphlet will damage our position considerably, showing a temper in Churchmen inconsistent, in the eyes of the Laity, with the exercise of dispassionate legislative, and still more, judicial functions. The judgment only affirms that the Evangelical body are not to be expelled.'

The extent and bearing of the judgment were greatly exaggerated and misunderstood, by men unaccustomed to weigh accurately the phraseology of decisions of Courts of Law. Many clergymen had supposed that the plain language of the Catechism and the Baptismal Office must be distinctly upheld by any fair Church Tribunal and that such a question could not be left open. Doubtless great diversity of opinion had been quietly tolerated as to the strict interpretation of theological terms, but a strong impression prevailed among those clergy who held the formularies in their literal sense, that if a formal decision

were ever given it must be distinctly on the side of what they believed to be the plain, literal and grammatical sense, and tolerating no other. The issue, however, was at variance with this expectation. The judgment appeared to say, 'We must find a *modus vivendi* for those who deny the plain sacramental teaching of the Prayer-Book ; we must allow a latitude.' Considerations of policy instead of law seemed to have guided the decision, and the whole sacramental teaching of the Prayer-Book appeared to be in danger. This, however, was not all : attention was called by the judgment to the unsatisfactory character of the tribunal itself, through which the Royal Supremacy was exercised on appeal in matters ecclesiastical. It was stated, on the authority of Lord Brougham, that when the old Court of Delegates was superseded in 1833 by the Judicial Committee it was forgotten and not contemplated that questions on Church doctrine would ever come before this new tribunal.

The principal subjects over which the Ecclesiastical Court exercised jurisdiction were secular matters, such as testamentary questions, the law of marriage and divorce. When questions of the interpretation of rubrics came before the Court, matters of doctrine became indirectly involved in their interpretations.[3]

Discussions took place as to what was meant by the Supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical matters, and the question arose, Can anything be done to prevent such cases as that of Mr. Gorham being again determined by a Court having no distinct Church character and in which, for that reason, Churchmen can have

[3] The Editor is allowed to state that on the part of this chapter which deals with the case of Mr. Gorham he has had the advantage of the supervision of the Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore.

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no confidence? Bishop Wilberforce, though wishing for a change in the composition of the Final Court of Appeal, thus expresses himself in a letter to his brother the Archdeacon: 'If you put anything forth, I hope you will strongly assert the advantage of the Supremacy of the Crown properly administered. I am very anxious that in every move this *just* Supremacy of the Crown should be maintained. Till we are a Republic it *ought*, 'me judice,' to be, and nothing could, I think, be more impolitic than to go against it.'

In his Ordination examinations it was the constant practice of Bishop Wilberforce to put leading questions tending to draw out the teaching of expressions in the Prayer-Book or in the works of Hooker, which bore upon the doctrine of Baptismal Grace. In preaching, in Confirmation addresses, he used to distinguish between Regeneration, Conversion, Renewal, show the danger of confounding them and point out the necessity of all three to the Spiritual Life. And so, while from old associations as well as from the largeness of his own sympathies, he would have been one of the very last to desire the exclusion of any section of Churchmen from the fold of the Church, at the same time he was keenly alive to the evil of a judgment supposed to call in question what he believed to be essential truths, and yet more to the danger of trifling with plain words so as to make them mean anything or nothing. The two following letters of the Bishop's, the first to a clergyman in the diocese, the second to his friend Sir Charles Anderson, give his opinions on this question as they were at the time.

To the Rev. W. Butler he writes:—

That this is to be treated as a mere state decision. 2. That practically it leaves the matter where it found it. 3. That it

only decides that to hold infants need some preparatory grace analogous to that which works Faith and Repentance in adults for them to be due recipients of the grace conferred in Baptism, is not so *plainly repugnant* to the Church of England as that the Court would be 'rigid' in excluding the holder of such a view. Now I do *not* see that this leaves us in *any way* tainted with heresy. It is very likely to mislead and we must of course strive for a better state of things.

To Sir C. Anderson he writes :—

I saw Prevost yesterday, at the National Society meeting : *he* does not feel that the Church of England is compromised by this vile judgment, and many of our best Churchmen are quite staunch. I believe that in the end God will bring good out of all this evil ; we must wait dearest Friend in faith. The present has ever seemed the darkest to those in it, and dark times make friends' voices and friends' love closer and more welcome than ever.

Apart, however, from the direct issue involved, was, as has been mentioned, the further question of the Supremacy of the Crown. Many then, as now, denied the right of any Court of Parliamentary origin to settle Church questions.

An attempt to allay this feeling was made by the Bishop of London (Blomfield), who introduced a Bill into the House of Lords which provided that all cases affecting doctrine should be removed from the Judicial Committee to the Upper House of Convocation. A Declaration by the Bishops in the shape of a petition to Her Majesty had been mooted, but fell through owing to a want of unanimity as to its terms. The Bill came on for second reading on June 3 but was thrown out by a majority of 33, the numbers being 84 to 51 : most of the Bishops remained neutral, including

the Archbishop, four only voting for it. Bishop Wilberforce supported the Bill on the ground of its being, in his opinion, 'the only safe move at present.'

Speaking on the question he said: 'Purely spiritual questions ought to be left to purely spiritual judges.' He pleaded 'for the same justice to be shown to the Church of England as was accorded to the Kirk of Scotland and to every sect.' He argued that the opposition to the Bill proceeded from a fear that the Gorham judgment might be reversed if this Bill passed. He said, 'If this were such an admirable judgment, surely there was no reason for such a fear. Unless there was some secret lurking belief that the judgment might be upset if we had a good Court, there would not have been this uneasiness.' And concluding he said: 'Do not alienate from you as a party finally and for ever, the whole body of the English Church, by showing them that at your hands they must not look even for justice. Deal more liberally and justly with her, listen to her complaints, do not rudely repulse her when she comes to you for redress; and seeing that her purity of doctrine and teaching are more valuable than earthly possessions, hasten to remedy her wrongs.'

The letters which follow were written within a few days of the debate, when it was evident that nothing could at that time be done either by Declaration or Legislation. The first letter was in reply to an address forwarded through Archdeacon Berens and signed by 116 clergy of the Archdeaconry of Berkshire; in it they affirmed their own unshaken belief in the doctrine of the Prayer-Book. The second letter was in reply to a counter address, signed by 520 laymen at Reading, who, amongst other statements, alleged that 'the Tractarian party, with whom the 116 clergy of Berks

were supposed to sympathise, had no other intention than that of the unprotestantizing of our Church and country.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Berens.

61 Eaton Place, June 15, 1850.

Dear Mr. Archdeacon,—I have just received from you an address signed by yourself and 116 clergymen of your archdeaconry, expressing their 'deep concern and anxious apprehensions at the dangers' you dread from the recent judgment in the case of the Rev. J. C. Gorham, 'the effect of which' you understand to be 'that the denial of the remission of original sin to all infants in Holy Baptism is not inconsistent with the declared doctrine of the Church of England, and is no bar to holding a cure of souls within her Communion.' I need not assure you that I have read such an address with the deference due to the opinion of such men, and with hearty thankfulness for the zeal towards the truth which it evinces. If the effect of the judgment to which you refer be what you apprehend, I agree with you in the fear that it represents 'the authoritative doctrine of the Nicene Creed in its natural sense as a matter of opinion and tends to destroy the authority of our Articles:' for I am fully convinced that the Church has received and taught as a matter of revealed truth, that original sin is remitted to infants at their regeneration in Holy Baptism. I cannot, however, but hope that this judgment does not absolutely impugn this doctrine. If it be found to do so I cannot doubt that its authority will be wholly set aside by future decisions. For so plain and explicit do I deem the language of our formularies as to this doctrine, and with such increasing faithfulness do I believe it to be held and taught by the great body of our clergy, that I trust, (if it shall please God to give us patience, tenderness and boldness) we shall see even our present dangers turn out rather to the furtherance of the Faith. I have already been engaged with the other Bishops of the Church, in considering the steps which should be taken at this juncture and this question will,

I believe, again occupy our most anxious consideration. In conclusion let me express my earnest hope that we and you may join in fervent and continual prayer to the great Head of the Church, that He may enable us according to His will to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. I remain, dear Mr. Archdeacon, your faithful friend and brother,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Charles Cowan, Esq., M.D.

June 20, 1850.

Sir,—Having received with your signature as Chairman, what is termed a counter Protest, &c., I beg to acknowledge to you the receipt thereof. As this document is in no way addressed to me as Bishop of the Diocese, but is, as I gather, sent to me merely as a matter of compliment, I might hold myself excused from the necessity of expressing any opinion upon its contents. Nor would its authoritative and dogmatic assertions much incline me to suggest anything to its writers: yet feeling what I do concerning it, I do not like to leave it wholly unanswered. Let me say then, that for many reasons I deeply lament the tone of your protest. I believe that nothing can more deeply wound our reformed Church, than that men should be led to explain away on any side formularies which they have solemnly subscribed. It is in a great measure the fear of this danger which has led the vast majority of the clergy of Berks to sign the protest of which you complain. I grieve that you should have been led to use language so directly opposite, as it seems to me, to that 'Charity which thinketh no evil' as to impute to those who, being as zealous for the reformed faith as yourselves, are striving to maintain the necessity of what they deem the plain language of our Church, a concealed intention of bringing back the darkness of Popish superstition. It is not, believe me, by casting such imputations, or nourishing the spirit from which they spring, that the cause of God's truth can be maintained. I beg to remain faithfully yours,

S. OXON.

The following, written nearly a year after to Sir Charles Anderson, is given here as bearing on this question.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir C. Anderson.

May 28, 1851.

Dearest Anderson,—Alas! all is very dark around us. But I am still hopeful. I fear we shall lose some of our very best men and my heart bleeds at every pore at the prospect—*specially mine*. But I firmly believe in the vitality of the Church of England and that it will throw off the evil of such a loss of best blood as that and still live to God. I see all the evil of the judgment recently given; but I cannot believe it will ultimately do anything else than raise the standard of doctrine as to the Baptism question. I never saw *my* candidates so uniformly well up on the Baptism question. There was not one out of 37 who did not satisfy me. Dearest Anderson, I think troubles around us and within only draw our hearts closer to old friends. I am sure I feel it so to you and yours. I am ever yours very affectionately,

S. OXON.

The following extract from a speech of the Bishop on the 'Post Office Arrangements (Sunday Bill),' and the letter to Mr. Barter, one of his Rural Deans, further illustrate the Bishop's views on the observance of Sunday already referred to.[4]

'I do not wish to make people religious by Act of Parliament. I do not wish to stop the railways on Sundays, but I do feel bound to do all in my power to protect those who wish to spend their Sundays religiously.'

The Bishop had argued, in reply to the objection that the non-delivery of important letters on Sundays

[4] Vol. i. p. 377.

would cause great inconvenience, 'that any very important letter would be forwarded by rail.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. C. Barter.

Aylesbury, 18 Feb.

My dear Barter,—With regard to the observance of the Sunday, I certainly could not join in, or promote any petition resting the obligation of it upon the 4th Commandment, because I do not think that Commandment applies to us in the Christian Church. But I am fully prepared to do my utmost to maintain the observance of the Sunday on the footing and to the extent on which it stands at present. For I consider the question we have now to determine, to be, whether we shall have our Sunday a day of rest from labour, and of religious exercise, or, as it is on the Continent, a day of amusement. While we preserve it for rest and religion, we are, I believe, upholding one of the main defences of religion and morals: if we let it be secularized, we throw away that defence. And the first break that we suffer to be made in it, is a virtual and will soon be followed by an actual abandonment of the whole. I could not, therefore, consent to any opening of Museums, or other public exhibitions on that day, however plausible may be the arguments for so doing; for these, even if we admit them to be in themselves tolerable, would be precedents that would soon be intolerably abused to the destruction of all reverence for and religious employment of the day. At the same time I am very sensible of the mischievous exaggeration of the puritanical view of the subject; and greatly fear that through it occasion will be taken to loosen what hold the English, or more properly the Christian Sunday still retains upon the minds of our people. Your ever affectionate

S. OXON.

The letter from the Bishop to Mr. Gladstone which follows, refers to the apprehended secession of Arch-

deacon Manning from the Church of England. The letter here printed was in reply to one of Mr. Gladstone's which was written on September 8, in which Mr. Gladstone reminded the Bishop of a conversation which had taken place between them, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone had pointed out that if the great majority of the bishops had immediately after the promulgation of the Gorham Judgment openly in combination declared that they would uphold the doctrine of the Church as regarded Baptism, even though such declaration was not of the nature of a corporate action, such a step would have held secure to the Church not only Archdeacon Manning but many others who, like him, were longing for some authoritative declaration. The Bishop's answer further shows that Mr. Gladstone thought that Archdeacon Manning would ultimately form his decision equally on past historical grounds as on future anticipations.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Lavington, Sept. 14, 1850.

My dear Gladstone,—My stay here has let me see much of Manning. Never has he been so affectionate, so open, so fully trusting with me. We have been together through all his difficulties. But alas! it has left on my mind the full conviction that he *is* lost to us. It is, as you say, the broad ground of historical inquiry where our paths part. He seems to me to have followed singly, exactly the course which the Roman Church has followed as a body. He has gone back into those early times when, what afterwards became their corruptions, were only the germ buds of Catholic usages; he has fully accustomed his mind to them; until a system which wants them seems to him incomplete and uncatholic and one which has

them is the wiser and holier and more catholic for having them, until he can excuse to a great degree their practical corruptions and justify altogether their doctrinal rightness. All this has been stirred up and rendered practical in his mind by our own troubles but the result of all leaves me very hopeless of the issue. Few can at all understand what his and my brother's present state are to me. I believe you can ; the broken sleep, the heavy waking, before the sorrow has shaped itself with returning consciousness into a definite form ; the vast and spreading dimensions of the fear for others which it excites ; the clouding over of all the future. It has quite pressed upon me and I owe, I believe, to it as much as to anything else a sharp attack of fever which has pulled me down a good deal. I am going, after my Ordination, at my doctor's desire for a fortnight or three weeks' tour and I think of going to Scotland. I know not if I should be near you or if Sir John Gladstone could have me if I were ; but if it were so I should be very glad to see you. I thank you sincerely for telling me about yourself. Such assurances are like the voice of a true comrade in the stifling mist. May it please God to bless your travel. I am very sorry that you will be away this winter, but trust that you as well as yours may return to us strengthened by your absence. I am ever, my dear Gladstone, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

In reply to this, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bishop on September 17, from which letter it can be gathered that Mr. Gladstone thought, from his personal knowledge of Archdeacon Manning, that even before the Gorham Judgment the Archdeacon's mind had become so imbued with the Roman Catholic faith, that he had ceased to struggle actively against these new convictions. The conversations which took place and the letters which passed between Mr. Gladstone and the Archdeacon, created an impression on Mr. Gladstone's mind that, though the Archdeacon was convinced of

the authority of the Church of England and believed in her mission, yet he could not disguise from himself that there were things in the Roman Church which he preferred. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, attributed the decided attitude of the Archdeacon to the result of the refusal of the Bishops to propagate a declaration that the Gorham Judgment was neither the law nor the faith of the Church of England.

The Bishop was at Lavington in September, and while there had long interviews with his brother-in-law; the correspondence with Mr. Gladstone mentioned above, took place during the Bishop's stay in Sussex.

Although the Gorham Judgment was the ostensible reason for Archdeacon Manning's secession, he had been for a long time hesitating, and it is perhaps doubtful whether any action of the Bishops, either 'corporate or combined,' would, as Mr. Gladstone imagined, have really kept him secure. In 1841 he had made up his mind that unity was a first law of the Church of Christ, and that therefore the position of the Church of England was tenable only as an extreme and anomalous case; he had also refused in any way, either by word or deed, to do anything hostile to the Church of Rome, and writing in 1850, he admitted that his teaching was nearer to that of the Roman Church than to the Church of England of that day. For many years he had felt himself to be prohibited from all sympathy with Protestantism, and what he termed the compromises of the Reformation. The opinions of 1841 had strengthened year by year, and each year had found him further removed from the living English Church; he believed that what he had supposed to be the theology of the

English Church was only the opinion of a School beginning with the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and neutralised at the Revolution. The Church which claims to be One, Visible[5] and Infallible, fascinated him as it has many others, and the idea that a civil court could settle a point of the Church's doctrine finally decided a question which was already trembling in the balance. All this is to be clearly gathered from letters written to the Bishop, but which for obvious reasons are not printed.

On September 27 the Bishop thus writes to his brother Archdeacon Wilberforce :—

My Lavington residence proved anything but a rest with all my anxieties about Manning ever recurring and augmenting and by my doctor's advice I am making a run through Scotland to shake off some little remains of a feverish attack which pulled me down at Lavington,[6] but care and anxiety are close and obstinate attendants whom it is difficult to shake off by distance.

The next visit to Lavington, after Archdeacon Manning's secession, which took place in November of this year, is thus alluded to by the Bishop, showing how deeply he felt the loss which not only the Church, but which also he himself had sustained.[7]

[5] In an article in the 'Quarterly' on Mr. Keble's Life, written in 1869, the Bishop on this point says :—'A very large proportion of the leading perverts had been bred up in the Evangelical school, and the vision of which Keble speaks of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church had dawned upon them with all the startling grandeur of a new discovery. Intoxicated with this glory, they were unable to bear any delay of their longings or any contradiction of their theories ; and as the Sorceress of the Seven Hills promised them the instant fulfilment of their dreams, they drank of the cup of her enchantments, and some at least shared the fate of those who quaffed of old the draught of Circe.'

[6] The Bishop had been confined to his bed for four days.

[7] Archdeacon Manning was Rector of Lavington for 17¼ years.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Lavington, June 10, 1851.

My dear Cavendish,—We came here yesterday and return (*D. V.*) to-morrow. It is a sad visit. The glory of our beloved little church is departed. The heavens weeping over us, and the trees dropping round us, seem acted parables of our thoughts. Twenty-three years ago to-morrow, and the sun shone on me as I came out of that church the most blessed of bridegrooms, having won her whom I had loved, as few love so young, ever since the vision of her beauty enchanted my early boyhood. How has wave followed wave from that day to this! Oh! and how has mercy and loving-kindness and forbearance and compassionate forgiveness been multiplied and abounded upon me year after year. My address till next Monday is to be, Bradfield, Reading. Then 61 Eaton Place. I am ever yours, my dear Cavendish, affectionately

S. Oxon.

The following letter bears on the subject of the Final Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical causes; it was written, as the date shows, in the train on the journey north, where the Bishop went by the doctor's advice to try and shake off the illness mentioned in the letter to Mr. Gladstone of Sept. 14. The letter next in order was written to Mrs. Sargent on the return journey. He had just left Glenquoich, where he had been staying as the guest of Mr. Ellice.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Nr Carlisle, Sep. 28, 1850.

My dearest Brother,—I have spent two days at Brougham, and been most hospitably received. I have had a large talk with Brougham, &c. Gorham and Co. He is thoroughly awake to the necessity of doing something

speedily to meet the requirements of the Church. I proposed (1) to take away all appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the Crown in any point involving *doctrine* as distinct from law. (2) To allow of a new trial on such points being ordered in the Archbishop's Court, the Chancellors of London and Chichester sitting with the Dean of the Arches. This would save the origin of authority. Brougham is favourable. He is going to try to frighten John Russell into a sense of the necessity of doing somewhat and to try and get at the press; he is quite in earnest about it this time. Send me your views. I went yesterday to Lowther Castle and thought of our dear father's visit. I am now going to Carlisle to be sponsor for the little deaness or dean (I know not which), but dean I believe; then on to Drumlanrig for a day or two. . . . I had a lovely day at the lakes, since stormy. Brougham *very* beautiful. I am ever, my beloved brother, your warmly loving

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Mrs. Sargent.

Steamer, Monday, Oct. 14, 1850.

My dearest Mrs. Sargent,—It is very pleasant to have my head turned homeward again and to get into the land of letters, for they have been uncertain in coming and most *uncertain in going* of late. At Mr. Ellice's, in the traveller's book of the young Mrs. Ellice, the hostess, you are requested to enter your day of arrival, departure, profession, business in Scotland, and some complaint. Here is mine, as far as I remember it, of this morning:

Arrived.	Departed.	Profession.	Business in Scotland.
Oct. 8.	Oct. 14.	Man of letters.	To be unlettered.

Bidden with murmurs this fair sheet to stain,
'Then I obey,' and thus complain,
That never man was yet ill treated
As I within this glen.
On nags, in boats, on carriage seated,
And dragged o'er flood and fen;

Then crammed in mind and body
With talk and singed sheep's head ;
Made to take whisky toddy
And Dover's dust in bed ;
That my letters still kept coming
Like flakes of mountain snow,
And (what nightmare more benumbing?)
That they would not, would not go,
That weird women still were weaving
Their spells by night and day,
Till at the time for leaving
I scarce could break away ;
That so was I hag-ridden
That, in spite of all this pain,
If I again am bidden
I shall surely come again.

The Dover's powder was for a little cold in my throat, which is nearly gone.

Many who read this letter will remember the beautiful old lady to whom it was written, and will recall the chivalrous and deferential manner with which the Bishop always treated her. Her affection for him is charmingly described in one of her letters : 'Indeed, I must ever feel that his tenderness is one of the best blessings I possess : it is quite impossible for anyone to know how I prize it, and what a balm it has often been to my bruised heart : surely the sight of him is "gude for sair een."' For twenty years[8] she lived with the Bishop, superintending his household and taking care of his children, who found in her care and love a second mother.

The following extract from a letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce refers to the death of Mrs. Ryder, the Bishop's sister-in-law.

[8] From 1841 till her death in 1861.

March 26, 1850.

Perhaps you have not heard of the blow which has fallen upon us and very specially on poor G. D. Ryder and beloved Mrs. Sargent, who has now only Mary left of that lovely family of seven, with whom God enriched that happiest of parsonages, Graffham. Dearest Sophia's removal was strangely sudden. . . I only got home yesterday evening, meeting this intelligence at Wycombe and set off at once. We got there between 2 and 3, saw our dear sister's already wasted form and are at this moment at Rugby on our way back. Dearest Mrs. Sargent is, as always, calm, resigned and perfectly submissive to God's holy will but the blow was very severe at first. . . . Newman was at Ryder's but I thought it best not to see him ; I heard that unmistakeable voice like a volcano's roar, tamed into the softness of the flute-stop, and got a glimpse (may I say it to you ?) of the serpentine form through an open door -- 'The Father Superior.'

On September 24, in this year, a Papal Bull was issued, establishing a Roman Hierarchy in England, and although Cardinal Wiseman wrote to Lord John Russell expressing the regret caused by the issue of the Bull and explaining that it only invested himself and the Bishops under him with spiritual functions, yet the storm raised by the so-called 'Papal Aggression' was not allayed. A second Titus Oates fever seemed for a short time to have seized the nation. It must be remembered that Cardinal Wiseman had assumed the title of Archbishop of Westminster, and also that the Government had conceded titular rank and precedence in Commissions and other public acts in Ireland as well as in the colonies to the Romish ecclesiastics. Meetings were held all over the country to remonstrate against the same rule being applied to England as to Ireland and to petition Her Majesty against granting any titles.

A meeting at Oxford to petition Her Majesty was summoned by the Bishop for November 22. On Tuesday, November 19, he writes to his brother the Archdeacon :—

I hope to make Friday's protest a sort of Diocesan Synod. I have some apprehensions from the Low Church Party but trust in God. I believe Lord John will do nothing but try, like a cunning little fellow as he is, to puzzle the scent of his own trail, by turning out Tractarianism as his bagged fox. I am to take the chair at Reading, at a meeting of the Churchmen of the county, on requisition of the magistrates, a large number of the clergy and laity. I rather expect to be blown up at that. If *not*, I go on to Sussex on Tuesday the 26th, to preach Wednesday, at the Consecration of West Lavington Church. A sad time, for I hardly dare hope to have Manning again with us. Could not you come to that? have Thursday quietly with me at Lavington and come back with me to Cuddesdon on Friday.

Before however the Bishop consented to preside at the Reading meeting, which was one of those called for the purpose of presenting an address to the Queen, by not only the magistrates but a large number of clergy as well as laity; having regard to the excited feeling of the country, and especially of Reading, the Bishop had written to say that unless measures such as he advised were taken to ensure an orderly meeting, he must decline being present. They were that admission should be by ticket. The tickets to be issued by the signatories of the address to him ; that these tickets should not be transferable and that they should declare the bearer to be a member of the Church of England. As an instance of party feeling in Reading, only a few weeks before four clergymen had refused to meet the Bishop at the house of Mr. Yates, the vicar, previous

to a Confirmation. Here follow the Bishop's words in a letter to them. 'You refused to unite with your Bishop in preparatory prayer, lest you should aid the delusions of Rome by walking with him into church.'

The following story furnishes a proof of the Bishop's tact in dealing with men who wished to become notorious for conscience sake. A new church was about to be opened by the Bishop and a number of neighbouring clergy were invited to be present at the ceremony. Arrangements had been made for the clergy to walk into the church in procession in surplices, the Bishop last. The procession was formed, all was ready, when the Rector came to the Bishop saying, 'All will be spoilt; two clergy are come in black gowns; they declare they will wear them in the procession; they are come for the purpose of thus openly showing their Evangelical principles.' The Bishop replied 'All will be well, they will go in surplices.' The Rector assured the Bishop that this was impossible and that any remonstrance he might make would only cause a disturbance. The Bishop, after again reassuring the Rector, said to the clergy, who were formed two and two, 'Gentlemen, are you ready?' and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he stepped along the rank and accosted the first black-gowned clergyman with 'Good-morning, Mr. —— Will you have the kindness to read the first lesson for us this morning?' Then passing to the second, with the request that he would read the second lesson, the two fled to find surplices, and the procession went into Church with the two clergy clad as the others.

The meeting at Oxford was held on Friday, November 22: it had been summoned for Merton

College Hall but the large numbers of clergy who attended and who kept arriving while the Bishop was speaking rendered an adjournment to the Sheldonian Theatre necessary, in order that all should be able to take part in the proceedings. A letter from one of the senior clergy in the diocese written a few days after the meeting shows what impression was left on the minds of some of those present ; after saying how successful he thought the meeting had been, the letter goes on :—

'I think with continually increasing admiration of the firmness, temper and adroitness, with which you mastered and guided that great assembly, as a fine horseman subdues to his will the spirited animal which no brute force could have ruled. I believe that hundreds of your clergy who did not before know you are most deeply and favourably impressed. I have heard our Oxford proceedings termed the hardest and "truest blow that has been aimed against Romanism." I wish the protest could be read from every pulpit.'

As this letter shows, there were in the meeting discordant elements. Some of these found vent in the counter protest which follows here and some in interruptions during the Bishop's speech. One of these episodes is given as remarkably illustrating one of the Bishop's greatest powers in public speaking, the power of turning the meeting he was addressing against the interrupter.

'I will ask any honest man in this assembly of honest men, to answer me this question : supposing that there was amongst us at this time, bearing English Orders, so base, so infidel a villain as to have a secret league with Rome when he was a professed Protestant—(Great cheering ; a voice : There are a hundred of them). I must beg you, my brethren, to remember that the first introduction of anything like disunion, as it is an

offence against unity, is a sin against God. (Oh! and cries of no, no!) Not a sin against God to introduce discord into such a meeting as this! (Hear, hear.) My reverend brother who says "No" must himself on reflection see that it is so. Why? are we not met for a truly religious purpose, to stand up for the truth? Surely, then, the introduction of anything which will cause discord on such an occasion and at such a time must be sinful.'

The opinion of the Bishop of Salisbury (Denison) on this meeting and the Bishop's speech is as follows:—

I have read your speech with great interest and admiration, and consider that this kind of thing is what we ought to have done by common council and consent. I cannot say how vexed I am with the Archbishop. . . . I am very glad that I wrote, very plainly expressing my dissatisfaction. Though I wrote two letters, adding some further criticisms in my second, his Grace has not made any reply or taken the slightest notice of my letters.

A counter Protest was got up by some of the Buckinghamshire clergy of an extreme school, who, in fact, took the line taken by Lord John Russell in his published letter to the Bishop of Durham, viz. that there was no danger to the Church of England by reason of the Papal Bull, but that the real danger lay in the existence of concealed Popery within her fold: they therefore avoided the true question and assigned their reasons, or, as one of them expressed himself, 'delivered their consciences' in a counter Protest: one reason being (and this is given as showing the ruling spirit of the whole), 'Because we believe that no protest made at such a time by the Bishop and clergy of the Diocese of Oxford ought to satisfy our lay brethren, or would

reassure those whose confidence in the Church of England is at present shaken, which does not distinctly acknowledge the encouragement which has been specially given to all the Romish aggression by departures from Protestant faith amongst ourselves and which does not at the same time distinctly denounce the spiritual treachery of those who have been and are still teaching Romish doctrines and ceremonies and practices within our Church and of whom so many have openly seceded to Rome; nor do we believe that without such acknowledgment any protest of so solemn a character and issuing from such a body would be approved by Almighty God.' The Bishop's reply is addressed to the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, the Rural Dean, who had forwarded the Protest.

My dear Fremantle,—I have received your reasons for not signing the protest agreed to on the 22nd of November with the respect due to many of those whose names you have sent me. At the same time whilst allowing your perfect right to your own opinions, I must explicitly state that I see no force in your alleged reasons. There can be no doubt that the great objection to the Papacy is not its schismatical character but its false and *dangerous* doctrines and practices. But against *these* we have no more ground of protesting on the 22nd of November than on any other day. Those doctrines were just as pestilential when taught by the mouth of the Bishop of Melipotamos as by that of the Archbishop of Westminster. What we met on that occasion to protest against was *the new aggression* and the *special* point of that was the *intrusion itself*, and not the doctrines to spread which the intrusion was made. The protest, therefore, in my judgment *ought* to have put that forward and then to have stated as it does the protest of the Church of England against Rome, its deep and undying opposition to the false doctrines with which now as heretofore Rome is infected. The same

required the 2nd assertion to which you object, viz. *we* are THE apostolic Church of England. This is the ground taken by all our Reformers and I am not afraid of sharing it with them. The same reason required the third assertion : of course we appeal primarily to God's word ; but as against Rome this appeal would not suffice, because she professes to have God's word on her side too. Consequently we appealed, as did again all our Reformers to that judgment of the Universal Church, which could be had in primitive times and cannot be had now, as being with us and not with her. It is an utter misinterpretation to say that this protest deals only with the Ecclesiastical question it states. We are the apostolical Church of England holding the truth as contained in God's Word and explained in primitive times by the Universal Church : you are an intrusive and corrupt communion, having no business here at all and teaching what is repugnant to God's Word and primitive antiquity. I should not deal candidly with you if I did not add that I fear that some of the opponents of the protest acted from the lowest party motives and in entire forgetfulness of their ordination vows : one at least who in a Dissenting newspaper attacks his Bishop, signing himself one of '14.'

The following refers to another Protest from a different part of the diocese.

Cuddesdon, Jan. 21, 1851.

My Reverend Brethren,—I have read your reasons for not subscribing 'the Protest' agreed to by the clergy of this diocese with the attention to which such a document so signed is entitled and I feel it due to you to state as briefly as I can why these reasons appear to me to be insufficient to justify your refusal. I. Your first 'reason' is that the Protest is insufficient 'in Scriptural teaching' to instruct ignorant Protestants, to confirm waverers or convince Romanists. To this I must reply that it was not the object of the Protest to convey Scriptural instruction but to make a public protest on behalf of this portion of the Church. II. Your second reason is that the schismatical character of the late act rather than

the corruptions of Rome were put primarily forward. I reply that it was against that schismatical conduct and not against the deep corruptions of Rome that this Protest was primarily directed. The corruptions of Rome had been the same when supported by the Bishop of Melipotamos, as they are when supported by the so-called Archbishop of Westminster; our Protest then being called forth by the schismatical act must *primarily* address itself thereto. But having done this, it spoke in no flattering terms of Roman corruptions; for first it embodied and repeated the whole Protest of the Articles of the Church of England; next it stated the teaching of the Church of Rome to be on many points of faith 'contrary to God's Word' and thirdly it declared her 'practices' to be 'idolatrous.' I cannot understand how any one who had read these allegations could conceive the doctrinal condemnation of Rome to be so insufficient that they could be justified in violating the great law of unity by refusing to sign it. But, III., you object to the reference to the judgment of the Universal Church if it could be obtained, and you endeavour to justify this objection by saying that a General Council may err. There is no reference to a General Council for this very reason in the Protest, which refers to such a judgment of the Church as would include the first four centuries to which our Church specially refers. This objection, therefore, is *not* to the Protest but to that which was carefully excluded from the Protest. IV. You object that the Protest does not acknowledge that Romish leanings amongst ourselves had encouraged the Papal Aggression. Had we been writing a history of the aggression, and therefore tracing its causes, I should not differ from you. But in a Protest against an aggression from without, I feel such a statement of causes would in my judgment have been misplaced, whilst since to be complete it must have included the acts of the Government which had tended to invite the aggression, it would assuredly have introduced division, where Unity was next to Truth and Charity of supreme importance. V. Your last reason is that in training your flocks to yield no obedience to these so-called Bishops of new sees, they are urged against the schism of such an act

rather than against the doctrinal corruptions to which such conformity would expose them. This objection would have much weight if this warning stood alone. But as in the preceding sentence the Church of Rome has been stated to teach as a matter of faith what is contrary to God's Word, and to practise what is idolatrous, I can see no objection to warning them in this paragraph against the schismatical act which would expose them to what we have already declared to be corrupt in doctrine and idolatrous in practice. For these reasons I am led to the conclusion that you had no sufficient grounds for refusing to join with your Bishop and your brethren in common action against the common enemy; thereby weakening the effect of the resistance made in this diocese to Popish usurpation; tending to divide those who ought to be united and so giving strength to the watchful enemies of all religion in their warfare against Christ and His Church. You would, I am sure, my Rev. Brethren, be the first and amongst the most earnest to deprecate, what yet has been, and I fear must be, the result of your mistaken movement. I have further only to say that I pray God to avert from us these and all other evils to which our human infirmity exposes us and to have us and our work for Christ's sake in His Holy keeping. I pray you to strive earnestly for the common Faith and withal to follow after Charity. I beseech you to remember the blessedness of being of one mind; the grievous sin and danger of harsh judgments, intemperate words and a lack of love; and may the blessing of God rest upon you. I am, my Rev. Brethren, your faithful friend and Brother,

S. OXON.

P.S.—I request you to give the same measure of publicity to this answer which you have given or may give to your 'Reasons.'

The following letter, with a copy of the Protest, was sent round to every Bishop belonging to the Anglican Communion in all parts of the world :—

Right Reverend Brother,—I herewith transmit to you a copy of a Protest solemnly adopted by us, the Bishop and clergy of this diocese synodically gathered in this our cathedral city of Oxford, on the 22nd day of November 1850, against the late usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, whereby he assumes the right and power of dividing the territories of this ancient Church and nation into new provinces and sees, and thrusts new Bishops into them.

Our protest has been deposited, in *perpetuam memoriam*, in the archives of the diocese, and at the request of the assembled clergy, as well as by my own desire, I now forward a copy of it to you and to all other my Most Reverend and Right Reverend Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of Sees in recognised communion with this See; and that you may know how far this Protest expresses the opinions of the clergy of this diocese I now subjoin the following statement of our numbers and our signatures.

The Diocese of Oxford contains at this time about 591 benefices with cure of souls, which are served by 547 incumbents, who are assisted by 261 curates. Of this total number about 40 incumbents must be left out of calculation, as being prevented from taking part in such an act by insanity, extreme sickness, absence, age, or other ascertained causes.

There remain 507 incumbents; of these 393 have signed the Protest, 43 have declined to sign it, and have stated to me their 'reasons,' which are such as these:—

1. That in it this act of the Roman See is protested against as schismatical, not as 'anti-Christian.'

2. That to embody, as it does, all the doctrinal protests of the English Articles is an insufficient protest against the corrupt doctrines and idolatrous practices of Rome.

3. That the English Church is in it declared to possess a succession of Orders from the Apostles.

4. That the Protest does not contain sufficient Scriptural or doctrinal teaching to instruct ignorant Protestants.

5. Because it does not set forth corruptions and divisions which exist among ourselves.

6. Because it claims as on our side the judgment of the Church Universal.

Adding, then, the 43 who for some or all of these 'reasons' have declined to sign, and subtracting those before mentioned as incapacitated, there remain unaccounted for from the whole diocese 71 incumbents. The Protest has been signed by 242 curates, and other clergymen resident and officiating in the diocese: in all by 632 clergymen. 18 curates have not signed, for the reasons above referred to.

Since the Protest was adopted and made public, a large number of lay communicants and other laymen have subscribed and are subscribing their assent and consent to the Protest of the clergy.

For this our Solemn Protest, then Right Reverend Brother, on behalf of the clergy and subscribing laity of this diocese and on my own behalf, I heartily desire your approval and concurrence, and praying God even our Father for Christ's sake to have you evermore in His Holy keeping, I remain your faithful friend and servant in the Lord,

S. OXON.

The following letter from the Bishop to Dr. Dallas, a well-known Evangelical clergyman, in reply to one reproaching the Bishop for having forsaken the Evangelical party and 'thrown his influence into the opposite side, is given as a sample of many such letters.' The letter of Dr. Dallas was written in December and it contains one curious sentence. 'If you were to inhibit Dr. Pusey from preaching in Mr. Marriott's Church you would show us that your sympathies were not all on the side of Tractarianism.' As the next chapter shows, the Bishop had done this a month before he received the letter of Dr. Dallas. The letter shows that in the recent troubles the Bishop took the side, as to doctrine, which he believed to be true, while throughout he constantly protested against any attack on the Evangelical

party. The Bishop thus describes his position as to the two parties in the Church: 'I am for the party of the Church of England and nothing narrower.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Dallas.

Dec. 28, 1850.

My dear Friend,—I have read your letter with the deep interest which your affection and its subject must inspire. I will answer it in the same open-hearted way in which you have written. My dear friend, it is utterly untrue that there has ever been any change in my opinions, or that I have encouraged, promoted, or protected Tractarianism (properly so-called), or that I do not see its tendency towards Rome, or that there has been any uncertainty in my course. I *was* a Church of England man of the school of Hooker, Beveridge and Andrewes, and so I am now. I *always* held the doctrine of the Apostolical succession, *vide* my first sermon before the Bishop of Winchester; of Baptismal Regeneration, *vide* my sermons before the Queen. I always held the great Evangelical truths as the life of my soul; I always opposed real Tractarianism, *i.e.* the putting tradition into the place which Holy Scripture alone can occupy, ceremony in the place of substance, giving to the Sacraments the character belonging only to our Lord, craving after confession and absolution, &c. as sacramentals. I see, if possible, the evil of these things with increasing plainness and witness against them. I have never ceased to protest against them, but because I have had dear friends who were Tractarians, because between angry parties, I, God helping me, have held and will hold what I esteem the truth of both and the party violence of neither, I am reviled as uncertain. It is hard to bear and as my heart craves after sympathy and trust above all other gifts, the temptation has often beset me to cast off the burden by the easy course of adopting party cries, but I dare not do it. I am affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The following letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce introduces a new phase in the High Church movement, namely, the first prosecution as to Ritual, which henceforward, with one exception, was to be the subject of contention between the two parties. Mr. Bennett resigned the perpetual curacy of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, on November 27, and in consequence of this resignation the case never came into the courts of law. The letter is important as showing the view the Bishop took of the legality of the acts of ritual which were then complained of.

Fulham, Dec. 29, 1850.

My dearest Brother,—When we spoke together of Mr. Bennett's doings, you said that the Rubric with the Injunction of Ed. VI[th] seemed to you to justify him *legally* in burning candles on the altar at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I have just seen a letter of Mr. Vogan's to Mr. Bennett which seems to me to advance a very strong argument against that view, and wishing to keep a mem. of it I write the heads of it to you on this copying paper. He reasons, in brief, thus :—'Before the Sacrament' is a preposition of place, not of time, and means 'before the Host,' not 'before administering the Sacrament.' His argument is this. At the time of the Injunction votive candles were commonly (as now amongst the Papists) burned before images, altars, pictures, &c. King Edward's Injunctions prohibit all these lights, but bid the priest to suffer two lights to burn before the sacrament on the High Altar, to signify, in contradistinction to all these images, &c., that Christ was the true light, &c. Now when this Injunction was issued it was, and for some time after, the custom to reserve some of the consecrated elements on the altar (he quotes Wheatly, edit. Oxon. 1819, p. 326). *Before* these elements, then, so reserved, partly in condescension to the remaining weakness of his parishioners, partly to difference off the glory of Christ from all images of the Virgin, &c., the priest was to suffer two candles to burn. But since the

abolition of Reservation this has become impossible, for there is no pause allowed for lighting them between consecration and consumption, the only time now when they could burn 'before the Sacrament.' The force of 'suffer' is not to be lost, showing that it was a permission of the priest to a desire of others. That this is the meaning of 'before' is confirmed by the preceding words, 'no torches or candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set before any image or picture, but only two lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament.' This seems to me quite convincing. I should like to have your view of it. The Bishop is corresponding with Mr. Bennett, but nothing is yet decided. Oh, how one's soul longs for unity, for agreement amongst those who do desire above all things else to serve our dear Lord, and to be at last one with him. May God keep us, beloved brother, together as far as may be. It is like ice in my heart when I see in you anything which seems to me as if it implied what might grow into a practical disunion. Surely the great body of the Evangelicals differ from you only in this, that whereas you see that there are instruments divinely appointed for conveying Grace and dwell specially on that, because the unbelief of the present day denies it, they are so afraid of any notion of these instruments acting as a charm, without the faith and desire of the recipient bringing him into communion with God, that, whilst you seem to them to make the Sacraments material means of salvation, they seem to you to deny the reality of the Kingdom of Grace in which we are; and that full, candid, and believing explanation of what each does mean, would therefore adjust all matters between you and them. Ever believe me your most affectionate brother,

S. Oxon.

The following important letter to Lord Ashley (now Lord Shaftesbury) shows how earnestly the Bishop was striving to hold the balance between the two parties in the then excited state of opinions.

The Bishop of Oxford to Lord Ashley.

Cuddesdon Palace, Dec. 3, 1850.

My dear Lord Ashley,—Seeing that you are to be Chairman of Thursday's meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, I trouble you with this letter. Your kindness to me whenever we have met leads me to hope, that I am not, in doing so, taking any liberty with you. I am anxious to do so, 1st, on my own account, 2nd on account of the Church. I. For myself. At all similar meetings the conduct of the Bishops has been (as is natural) considered, and *I* have been very generally blamed for encouraging Romanizing opinions. The alleged proof has been mainly my toleration of Mr. Allies. Such an impression is quite natural but it is quite untrue. So long as Mr. Allies acted under the engagement he had formed with me, I felt bound to bear this unjust suspicion in silence, but *now* I believe the interests of the Church require and circumstances allow of my justification. I believe my power of justification to be complete. I have written down, therefore, a short statement of the case; and I trouble you with it, with the request, that if the charge is again made you would contradict it. My request is that you would state the facts, not that you would read my letter, as if I stood on my defence. You are of course at perfect liberty, if you deem it needful to satisfy yourself from other quarters of the accuracy of this statement. I know of no other allegation which can be made against me of carelessness as to these matters. My clergy well know how firmly I have set my face against such views as those of Mr. Allies. It is, however, natural, perhaps unavoidable that with such a press as we have at this time, with my poor brother's[9] notorious course and with my own distinctly High Church opinions, that I should labour under the unfounded reproach of holding secretly that I have always opposed. And this brings me to my second head. You will be more than any one able to direct the current of Thursday's meeting; to settle whether it shall set against *bonâ fide* Romanizing

[9] Henry Wilberforce.

tendencies in the Church (by which *I* mean the revival of a system of auricular confession, sacramental absolution, the sacrificial character of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the denial of Justification by Faith, &c. &c.), or whether it shall be a mere attempt to brand as Romanizers all those in the Church who are of the school of Andrewes, Hooker Beveridge, &c. Of this school I am a member. I make no secret of it. I have as I believe dropped no one truth of my Evangelical education, but I hold those truths in a more consistent and therefore a firmer grasp. But the question I am anxious you should let me suggest for your thoughts is this: Can it strengthen us as a Church against Rome, against Latitudinarianism, against irreligion, against Socialism and our frightful social evil, to drive out or render suspected all the earnest-minded and I will venture to say spiritually minded men in this our day of exceeding need of every aid? I am, my dear Lord Ashley, most truly yours S. Oxon.

To this Lord Ashley replied that at the meeting he was not only most anxious to avoid personalities but that he would do all in his power to prevent them. He explained that the object of the meeting was to prevent Tractarian dogmas which, as he said, drove whole congregations to Dissenting chapels and which were rapidly turning the Church of England into a free Church.

CHAPTER III.

(1850–52.)

ADAPTED ROMAN CATHOLIC BOOKS OF DEVOTION—CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION—LETTERS TO DR. PUSEY AND REV. C. MARRIOTT—PRIVATE INHIBITION OF DR. PUSEY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. KEBLE—LETTER TO ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE ON THE REAL PRESENCE—DR. PUSEY DETERMINES NOT TO REPUBLISH THE ADAPTED ROMAN WORKS—FORMAL INHIBITION THREATENED—EXTRACT FROM THE BISHOP'S CHARGE OF 1852—THE PRIVATE INHIBITION FINALLY REMOVED.

THE ensuing correspondence with Dr. Pusey, which began in the November of this year, was not ended till 1852. During this period of two years Dr. Pusey, though not under a formal inhibition, did not, in accordance with the Bishop's request, officiate in the diocese. A brief history of the leading points of the controversy seems necessary in order to make the letters clear. The Bishop's letter of November 9, 1845, to Miss Noel, quoted in the first volume, shows the mistrust which the Bishop had of the effects of Dr. Pusey's teaching; a letter of the same date to Sir Charles Anderson, while recapitulating what has been already printed, touches more fully on this particular point. The Bishop says, 'I am fully persuaded that there is great danger to the personal religion of each of us in the tone of Pusey's teaching, with all the partial excellence by which it is marked.' The occasion of this letter was a meeting at Leeds convened by Dr. Pusey in opposition to the known, as well as ex-

pressed, wishes of Dr. Bagot (then Bishop of Oxford). Dr. Pusey held an independent position in the diocese ; he was not, as Canon of Christ Church or Regius Professor of Hebrew, subject to the Bishop, as Ordinary. It it important to remember this, as well as the fact, that after Mr. Newman's secession to Rome, Dr. Pusey became by the force of circumstances the head of the High Church party ; the state of feeling at the time must also be borne in mind. The famous Gorham judgment, the excitement consequent on the Papal Aggression already referred to, had stirred up a feeling amongst Churchmen, clerical as well as lay, which we, living in these quieter times, can scarcely imagine. In entering into controversy with Dr. Pusey, the Bishop drew down upon himself the whole strength of that party, of which Dr. Pusey was not only a representative but the leader. In the May of this year, Mr. Dodsworth, Vicar of Christ Church, Albany Street, Regent's Park, issued a pamphlet calling in question the wisdom of Dr. Pusey's action in adapting for English use certain devotional books of Roman origin. These had been published in 1848, and the silence of Dr. Pusey to this challenge gave the Bishop an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself. Before, however, writing to Dr. Pusey he consulted his brother, the Archdeacon, telling him the course which he was intending to take. That letter is unfortunately not in existence ; but the next one, in reply to the Archdeacon, who disagreed with the Bishop, is given.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

November 19, 1850.

My beloved Brother,—I do not quite see with you that it would be unfair to inhibit from preaching a man against whom there was *not* ground for deprivation. It seems a discretionary power of a lesser kind purposely vested in the Bishop for lesser instances. Again, what have *you* in this matter in common with Pusey? Those who come under your influence do not therefore go on to Rome, nor under Keble's; whereas it is the effect of Pusey's influence. Your words about Mr. Greatheart going back for a new bevy to conduct over have rung in my ears ever since, reproaching me with slumbering, when I ought to be banishing and driving away strange doctrines from my diocese.

The following characteristic letter from Archdeacon Randall, who was also consulted about this matter, is too pertinent to be omitted.

Archdeacon Randall to Bishop of Oxford.

November 14, 1850.

My dear Lord,—I have thought a good deal on the matter of our conversation about Dr. Pusey, but I do not find my power of giving an opinion much increased by cogitation. But, as far as I am able to judge, I continue to think the course you were proposing to pursue is the right one. The recommendation of Romish books of devotion to the use of members of our Church is, in my view, a most dangerous proceeding and highly to be reprobated. The danger of using such books in their original form is self-evident, and I suppose would not be denied by Dr. Pusey himself. But if such could by any editorial process be weeded of all that is false in doctrine, or objectionable in tone, spirit, and manner (which is hardly conceivable), it would then be made sub-

stantially a different book, and the recommendation of it under the original author's name would be wholly unjustifiable. The author would be misrepresented, by having his name affixed without his consent to a publication designedly suppressing his sentiments on material parts of his subject, and incautious readers would be deceived into a belief that a book bearing the name of a distinguished member of the Church of Rome might be taken as a fair specimen of the doctrinal system of that Church, and that the system was not really open to the objections commonly taken to it by Protestants, nor the Roman Church chargeable with such errors in doctrine as we might impute to it. And it is plain that such a misconception as this must greatly smooth the way for transitions from our Church to that of Rome.

Although Mr. Dodsworth's strictures of Dr. Pusey's adaptations were, as has been said, the occasion of the Bishop's first letter, yet in the course of this long correspondence other issues were, as might naturally be expected, raised. And here it is as well to pause for a moment to look at the attitude of the two parties. The way in which the Bishop regarded Dr. Pusey must be borne in mind; he yielded to no man in his admiration for Dr. Pusey's personal piety, and he so far agreed with Dr. Pusey's theological views that he over and over again in the course of these letters said that there was no ground for proceeding against Dr. Pusey for heresy. Also, when Dr. Pusey asked for categorical questions on doctrinal points, similar to those sent to Dr. Hampden, the answer was, 'I gave Dr. Hampden propositions because he was accused of holding heretical opinions; therefore formal propositions are the way to try him. I accuse you of a mode of teaching which leads to Rome, though you admit all the propositions of the Church of England.'

The charge therefore was, 'Your teaching leads men to Rome; therefore I, as the responsible head of this diocese, wish to limit your teaching as much as I can.' Dr. Pusey answered: 'I do not exceed the liberty allowed by the Church. If I do, prove it by trying me in a court of law, to whose decision I will submit. Why prevent my teaching because, unfortunately, after being under me, some go to Rome. This is not my fault, because when they come to me their minds are already made up; besides, if I am to be stopped, why not stop others whose teaching is leading men to Latitudinarianism.'

The practical answer was this. Men and women who had followed Dr. Pusey did go to Rome, while there was as yet no witness that from the teaching of the opposite school men had embraced Latitudinarianism. As might have been expected, the question of Private Confession was one of the questions which almost immediately followed; a letter of the Bishop's to the Rev. Charles Marriott, one of Dr. Pusey's supporters, was the occasion. Here the Bishop brought definite charges against Dr. Pusey, founded on the evidence of other clergymen, who stated facts of their own knowledge. Dr. Pusey's answer was denial, and a request that he might be furnished with the names, in order that he might deny again. As the names were given in strict secrecy, this could not then be done and cannot now. As will appear in the sequel, the Bishop then withdrew these definite charges against Dr. Pusey; he, however, founded questions upon them which are referred to in a letter to Mr. Keble. Another question arising out of these books was the nature of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. On this point Dr. Pusey found a strong supporter

in Mr. Keble, and later on another, a volunteer in Mr. Justice Coleridge. As the Bishop's reply to the latter sums up the case as it then stood, it will be found in its place. One of the Bishop's principal confidants and advisers throughout this correspondence was the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Denison),[1] whose letters show not only how much he was consulted, but how thoroughly he agreed with Bishop Wilberforce in the course taken by the latter.

One *letter*, which is referred to in 1851, was in print. The Bishop describing it says, 'it grew so bulky under my hands that I thought best to have it printed.' It was, however, never issued. The proofs were sent to Dr. Pusey as well as to Bishop Denison and others, but only as a letter. It may be mentioned here that on this same ground, viz. (Mr. Dodsworth's charges), the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) desired Dr. Pusey not to preach in his diocese. Dr. Pusey in a published letter to the Bishop of London refuted these charges; and other matters having been explained, this informal inhibition under which he had been placed was removed. It is as well once more to repeat—as is indeed clear from the fact that in after years Dr. Pusey was often one of the preachers in the Lent Missions, and that he sometimes with others assisted the Bishop in the arrangement of the subjects for the sermons—that the Bishop from first to last never brought any charge against Dr. Pusey of heretical opinions; but only that the effect of his teaching, an effect wholly unintended by Dr. Pusey himself, was to incline those under his influence towards the Church of Rome.

The following letter, although not belonging to the

[1] Bishop Wilberforce's letters to Bishop Denison were unfortunately for this part of the history destroyed.

correspondence between the Bishop and Dr. Pusey, bears directly on one of the points at issue. It was written in reply to a series of questions put by a lady in a long letter. This letter, together with the Bishop's reply, which as requested was returned to him, were found amongst his papers, endorsed 'Confession. 1850.' The names had been cut off from the letters :—

Bishop of Oxford to Miss ——.

Cuddesdon, January 14, 1850.

In the whole paper two things appear to me to be mixed together, which must be severed for any clear answer. They are, the benefit of (1) Confession to a Priest, and of (2) Absolution.

Is there then any efficacy in (1) the Absolution of a sinner by a Priest? I cannot doubt that there is. The words of Scripture, 'Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted,' and the universal consent of the Church, clearly can mean no less.

But then *what* is the efficacy of Absolution?

The *whole* Ministry is a ministry of Absolution. The minister of Christ performs by Christ's commission, on Christ's behalf, certain acts, which acts have in virtue of Christ's appointment the effect of parting the sinner from his sin. He is empowered to do these acts, and the promise is that when he so does them, as he is empowered, the currents of God's grace shall flow at his word, and that which according to God's will he does here on earth shall be accompanied by corresponding acts in the unseen World which shall give reality and spiritual effect to what *he* has done.

This promise applies to the *whole* Ministry. The act of Absolution is only *one* point, though a culminating point, in that whole system. But *what* is the spiritual efficacy which accompanies Absolution? Can it alter the objective fact of the sin of a given sinner being retained or forgiven?

Can it be applied at the will of man so that when pronounced *it* wipes out a score which, but for its being pronounced, would remain uneffaced?

I answer, in my judgment, certainly not. These are not the benefits of Absolution. Absolution is, I believe, in every case, and must be, *declaratory*. To take the highest case: When our Blessed Lord in His earthly ministry said, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' did He *declare* a fact in the unseen world, or did he *alter* a fact in that world? Doubtless He only declared a fact. It was impossible for Him capriciously, or by volition, to forgive the *im*penitent. He did but *declare* to the penitent the blessed fact in the unseen world, which hung upon the laws of eternal truth, that she, a penitent, was forgiven. But whilst the act was in its essence thus declaratory, was it *no more* than a mere declaration? It was, I doubt not, in many ways far more. As He spake the currents of Grace flowed to that soul. There was given to it a perception and appropriation of God's forgiving love; a sense of reconcilement, a childlike trust which no unauthorised declaration could have given; so that hereby the declaration of the fact in great measure caused the fact; even as, when He said 'Stretch forth thy hand,' and the withered arm was stretched forth, His word caused what His word announced; the secret currents of grace moving at His supreme word. Now *this* is the virtue of Absolution. One *un*commissioned may declare God's forgiveness of the penitent's sin, but he declares it only to the intellectual apprehension of that hearer. The hearer probably apprehended it intellectually *before*. But it was not the *intellect* which wanted enlightening: it was the eye of the soul which could not look up to God in Christ as a forgiving Father, because many sins had dulled and clouded it. Now when the commissioned minister of Christ declares this forgiveness to one in whose soul penitence is even beginning to stir, he opens the floodgates of Grace, and the gifts of God's Spirit accompany the act which He has appointed should be so done, and the work of parting the sinner from the sin which burdened him is carried mightily on.

Now then, here is a real efficacy in *Absolution.* But for this, sincerity and reality in the recipient are essential: they in their first beginnings being thus carried on into penitence and pardon in the worthy receiver under the Grace of Absolution. Now, Confession is the part which belongs to him who seeks this Grace. He comes to confess his sins unto the Lord. He has some sense of sin, some desire of pardon, some belief in God's forgiveness through Christ, some yearning after the working of the Spirit which is to undo the evil of many sins, and to quicken the eye dulled by many infirmities. He therefore comes to confess, not as he would, but as he can, and so confessing he is absolved, and all these currents of Grace are let loose upon his soul. Hence Confession and Absolution precede the receiving of the Holy Eucharist, that the penitent and believing soul fresh cleansed by Grace within may draw near to feed on Christ.

But all this applies, you will see, to *Confession general* as far as concerns man, and *Absolution general* as far as concerns God's minister. Now, in what way does private Confession and special Absolution differ from these? In their essence, I believe, not at all. There is no more efficacy in them so far, nor any, either necessity for them on the part of the penitent, or power of enjoining them on the part of the priest.

Their *advantage* in certain cases, I think, is twofold.

I. Where some sin burdens a conscience, and either from its intricacy or its weight keeps it perplexed, there are two advantages about private and special Confession and Absolution: (*a*) It gives the opportunity for joining particular ghostly advice to the act of Absolution, so introducing a special direction for the perplexed conscience; (*b*) It aids the conscience in casting off its burden when there is the sentence of Absolution pronounced, the pronouncer knowing the full extent of the sin.

II. Where the sin is against man as well as against God, it facilitates that restitution without which (where it can be made) penitence cannot be sincere. This, I take it, is the whole meaning of the abused text, 'Confess your sins one to another,' *i.e.* your trespasses against another to him, &c.

Thus, private Confession and Absolution

I. Are only fit for certain cases.

II. Should *never* be enjoined as a necessary condition.

III. Are very dangerous as *the rule*, as (1) tending to defile the soul by forcing it to dwell upon, put into words, and speak to another, what is far better rejected as a whole with loathing; (2) tending in other cases to cause habitual prevarication and holding back; (3) tending in others to ease the mind *wrongfully*, by the mere act of confession to another; and (4) tending to place the priest instead of Christ, instead of making his office lead on *to* Christ, and yet

IV. *May be* blessed assistances to a soul craving for them when used sparingly, as medicine to the sick, when a soul is (1) involved in the intricacies of past sin, or (2) crushed by its burden, or (3) wants awakening to restitution.

The great principle, therefore, seems to be that private Confession and Absolution, like Direction itself, are strong cordials provided for a time of sickness, not ordinary diet for the soul's health.

The first letter to Dr. Pusey, which is given below, was submitted to Bishop Denison amongst others before it was sent. His remark on it is as follows:—'Your letter appears to me to express very clearly and very well what I believe to be the real truth about Pusey's teaching. There is not a word in it with which my judgment does not accord.'

Bishop of Oxford to Rev. Dr. Pusey.

Cuddesdon Palace, Nov. 2, 1850.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—You probably remember that a communication which I received many months ago from you, at the hands of Mr. Crawley, led me to express plainly my conviction that your adaptation of Roman Catholic works of devotion, &c., was tending to the spread of Romanism amongst us, and that this conviction forced me to maintain

towards you the coldness of which you complain. Subsequent events have deepened my conviction that the effect of your ministry has been in many cases to lead those who follow your guidance to become dissatisfied with the pure Scriptural teaching and services of our own Church, and to join the Roman Schism. I do not impute to you any intention of producing such results. Nay, I know that you have often fruitlessly striven, in the last stages of their course, to retain in the Church of England those who under you, as I believe, had learned to distrust her. But giving the fullest credit to your intentions, this, I am convinced, is the actual result of your teaching. Recent instances of perversion have brought this conviction home to me with a force that compels me to be no longer silent. Yet I speak with the deepest pain, for I have a sincere reverence for your personal devoutness, and I know that anything that touches you may wound, and seem to reproach others who, as far as I can judge, act and teach within the large licence allowed by our Church, who do maintain her tone, and the fruit of whose teaching is not to lead others to Rome. Still, if, as I firmly believe, the influence of your personal ministry does more than the labours of an open enemy to wean from the pure faith and simple ritual of our Church the affections of many of those amongst her children whose zeal, tenderness, and devotion would, if properly guided, make them eminent saints and her especial instruments in God's own work in this land, how dare I any longer hold my peace? What I charge upon your teaching is stated broadly and in such detail in Mr. Dodsworth's published letter to you of May 7, that I will not repeat the several points here. Some of these appear to me to be directly condemned by the judgment of the English Church, and altogether plainly form a whole entirely unlike the teaching of Hooker, Andrewes, Bramhall and Jackson, with a host of worthies who, whilst they maintained as firmly as you can the sacramental system of our Church, were not afraid of speaking plainly of the grievous errors of the Roman Communion, and rejoiced in the Reformation because it gave us back the primitive faith free from those corruptions. The

result of this difference seems to me that, whilst they formed devout Church of England Christians, you nourish amongst those whom you guide religious principles and practices for which the Church of England affords no warrant, but which belong, and so ultimately surely lead, to the Church of Rome. Had you been under my jurisdiction, I must before this time have brought this matter before you. Your occasional exercise of your ministry in my diocese, with my conviction of its results, forces me now to address you, and to call upon you to give some public and distinct answer to Mr. Dodsworth's charges, as well as such an assurance that there shall be such material changes in the practices you encourage, and in the tone of your teaching, as shall satisfy me that they will no longer lead any of the flock committed to me as Chief Pastor of this Diocese to the corruptions or the communion of the See of Rome. Yours very faithfully,

S. OXON.

Dr. Pusey in reply complained that the Bishop had judged him in a preliminary way upon presumptive evidence; he also stated that his letter in answer to the Bishop's of November 12, was one written to an adviser, not a judge; he therefore wished to recall the letter and to remain suspended from preaching in the Diocese of Oxford until he had had time to write and publish carefully. He also requested the Bishop to receive his daughter for Confirmation on his recommendation, as they were extra-parochial. The Bishop then replied as follows:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Rev. Dr. Pusey.

Cuddesdon, Nov. 23, 1850.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—I return you your letter, according to your desire, and wait for your public explanation: leaving matters in the meantime on the footing you propose. At the same time I would wish that—at least, until that later

period—what has passed should not transpire; because I would not add anything to the bitterness of this present storm, for I can assure you it is with the greatest grief that I add anything to the sorrow which present events must bring upon you. I am, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

I shall gladly receive your daughter. May God bless her.

In pencil, at the bottom of the copy of this letter, is added by the Bishop,

Saw Marriott at night, and commissioned him to say to Dr. Pusey that it was from all public ministrations in this diocese I restrained him, except at Pusey in Berks, if he should be there, believing that there his ministry would be innocent.[2]

Dr. Pusey wrote the next day, saying that he had no idea, until Mr. Marriott's return last night, of the full severity of the sentence passed upon him, and again protested against being condemned unheard. The Bishop replied, allowing him to preach at Littlemore, the sermon having been promised before he received the letter; and saying further, that he, the Bishop, removed all inhibition from him, relying on his not preaching as he knew the Bishop's wish on the subject. Before Dr. Pusey wrote again, Mr. Marriott wrote to the Bishop asking certain questions about Confession, and though the answer is to a certain

[2] As an instance that the question of Direction had engaged the Bishop's thoughts for some time, an extract from a letter to the Archdeacon (R. I. W.) is given, Jan. 11, 1849. 'Have you thought at all about the limits: 1st, In the Church and man's nature and the rule of conscience and God's Word and Bishop Butler of spiritual direction; 2ndly, How far it is encouraged in our Church; 3rdly, Its limits as to parental rights and the Parochial System? I should much like your mind's workings.'

extent similar to the one already quoted, yet, as it in fact introduced the next part of this controversy, it is given in full. That Dr. Pusey saw this letter (if indeed he did not suggest Mr. Marriott's questions), his next letter, which follows the reply to Mr. Marriott, clearly shows.

The Bishop of Oxford to Rev. C. Marriott.

Cuddesdon Palace, Nov. 23, 1850.

My dear Sir,—I shall be glad to receive your candidates to-morrow at the confirmation.

It is difficult to speak shortly on the subject of Confession, but I will try to answer your question as briefly as I can.

There is no subject on which the difference of our Church and the Roman Communion seems to me more important than this: no religious practice as to which it is more dangerous for our clergy to trifle with Roman tendencies.

The difference, as I apprehend it, lies here.

The Romanists altogether in fact, and very largely in theory, supersede Conscience by the Priest. They believe that none can safely manage their own conscience; that the state, therefore, of religious health is to practise Confession to the Priest, and receive from him Absolution and Direction, and I believe that no single part of their debasing system has produced such deadly fruits as this. I believe it to be injurious to the moral and spiritual nature of Christians thus to accustom them to substitute confession to man for confession to God, a Priest's direction for the voice of Conscience, and the act of Absolution for true returning to Christ.

The teaching of the Church of England on this point I apprehend to be this:

Christians ought to be so directed by God's Word and the ordinary ministry of His Ministers that they can guide themselves, and in this self-guidance their Conscience will be strengthened; the habit of opening all their souls to God,

and of returning to Christ for Absolution after failure will be formed, and the sense of His presence with them will be strengthened. The Confession and Absolution of the Daily Service and of the Communion Office ought to be enough for the spiritual necessities of such persons, and if they are living with any watchfulness, under a ministry of any life, this would be the state of spiritual health. Christ our Lord, through the public ministrations of His Church, as well as in their secret approaches to Him, would hear their confessions and would be their Absolver. Their conscience, instructed by His Word read and preached, and quickened by His Holy Spirit, would be their Guide.

But there are cases of spiritual sickness as well as health for which the Church has to provide; and for these the Church of England recommends further aids. If anyone cannot quiet his own conscience, she lets him go and open his grief in Confession to some discreet minister of God's Word, and receive counsel and Absolution. But here lies the difference. This is not the ordinary regimen, but an extraordinary provision for sickness. One, therefore, who has really imbibed her spirit will always have before his eyes the purpose, *not* of forming in this soul the habit of so opening itself to the priest, and so craving Absolution, and so requesting minute direction and absolute command, but the very opposite, of exalting this soul again to be at peace, opening itself only to God, and receiving strength from Him through the *common* provisions made for His Church.

The question, to whom the troubled soul is bound to go, seems to me of less moment. I do not think the Church of England confines him to his parish priest; though there should be sufficient reasons for not acting on each of God's appointments, and so for going beyond those who are our most ordinary aids. But I suppose that every spiritually minded clergyman, of whatever party, would feel fully at liberty to seek to relieve any troubled soul who thus sought his aid. And I think he would do right. Whilst he ought also to discourage to the utmost that morbid fancifulness which leads to this man or that becoming general director

for those with whom they stand in no ordinary relation of Nature or Grace. But *the* principle, I think, is what I have stated above. Is Confession to be used as a means to restore health, or as the normal condition of a healthy soul?

And here the subject of your letter of the 20th leads me to your letter of the 21st. I had not heard of any report of Dr. Pusey being appointed lecturer: nor did I even know that he had preached for you when I wrote to him the letter which I perceive you have seen. The letter, in fact, had been written for some days, but I was unwilling to send it until, if possible, this present storm had passed. It is most painful to me to do anything which appears like attacking him at such a time. But with my convictions of the effects of his influence in implanting and nourishing these spiritual tendencies, which have ultimately led so many to Rome, I have no alternative. This painful subject has during this summer been brought before me with a clearness which has left no doubt on my mind. The effect of his teaching on Confession, his encouragement of persons seeking to establish the relation of director, or guide and penitent, as the regular and normal condition; the minuteness and details of his direction, &c., all seem to me to belong to the Roman school, and not to the teaching of the Church of England. The effect of this system, as I have seen it, is this: at first the subjected soul seems to grow in holiness, &c., leans on its director absolutely, and rejoices to find that the Church of England allows of such helps. But this *is* part of a system which is Popish, and not Catholic; and so after a time the soul under this treatment begins to thirst after other parts of that system, and to fret under the system of the Church of England. Dr. Pusey (as to whose conscientious attachment to our Church I have no shadow of doubt) begins to get alarmed; he tries to retain these souls to the Church of England, but in vain. He has given the impetus, and he cannot stop them. He has no deep horror of the Popish system; none has been infused into the early beginnings of their awakened spiritual conciousness; they have practically been set by him on a Romish course; he was all to them so long as he seemed part of that

ensnaring system into which he has brought them ; but, so soon as he begins to thwart them, his influence is gone ; they begin to pity him (they have said to me, 'Poor, good Dr. Pusey!' and the like) ; they pass into strange hands, and then to the Romish priest. My conviction is that if Dr. Pusey were not as good as he is, as conscientiously convinced himself that he ought to stay with us, whilst yet his doctrine and system are essentially Romish upon many points, and as to many of his practices, he could not have led over so many as he has. It is precisely the case of the decoy bird, who leads others into the net he is not himself the least thinking of entering. I do not mean that he intends any such thing : I am quite sure that he does not. I do not mean that his true place is among the corruptions of Rome : God forbid. I am speaking only of the conviction which has been forced on me of the practical effects of his ministry. And with this conviction what am I to do ? I have resisted the conviction to the utmost. I have (having no jurisdiction over him) only abstained in joining with him in anything. But the events of this summer and autumn have brought new facts and stronger convictions before me ; and I see not how I can remain in future merely negative. At the same time, I am most anxious to take no public step whilst the present excitement lasts, to do nothing *now* which could add to the present storm which breaks on Dr. Pusey, and therefore I have mentioned this matter only to a very few intimate friends, for their advice in confidence. Your having at once seen my letter leads me to suppose that Dr. Pusey has not exercised the same caution. If so, the publicity of the prohibition will be the consequence of his act, and not of mine. No present reason need be given for the pausing of his ministry in this diocese. I am, my dear Marriott, ever yours,

S. OXON.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford.[3]

Nov. 24, 1850.

My dear Lord,—I beg to thank your Lordship for saving me from the intense pain of being the occasion of distress and perplexity to minds who, in a way which I do not deserve, hang upon me, and think themselves condemned and disowned when I am. I cannot help it, but it is the only ground I have to care what is thought, said, or done to me. If I can exchange my turn of preaching before the University, I will, in order to write this statement. Else the subject on which I wish to preach, 'The faith once for all delivered to the saints,' is one which requires so much care that I ought to give all my time to it. I have now no occasion to preach, or to officiate, except privately, so I can easily and gladly comply with your Lordship's wishes. Your Lordship's letter to Mr. Marriott makes me think that you have been *very much* misinformed as to my private intercourse and what is called guidance. I might in a few words state my practice. 1. I never send away anyone who comes to me to ask me about his soul, but give him the best advice I can. 2. If a person comes to me, or writes to me, saying that they wish to open their griefs, or use Confession, I receive them. 3. I never induce or recommend any person to come a second time. I was terrified when first I found a person propose to come again, and put him off. People coming again for Confession is wholly their own doing, not mine. 4. Whatever I said in my University sermons was the result of eight years' experience. It was against my will sorely at first, and then a matter of necessity. I could not refuse people when they came and told me they wished to relieve their minds. 5. All habitual Confession is of people's own seeking, and I see them very much less frequently than they wish. Some who used to come to me

[3] I think it right to state here, that all Dr. Pusey's letters which follow have been submitted to him, and he has consented to their publication. The letter of July 2, 1851, is not quoted in full, but Dr. Pusey consents to the omissions which have been made for the sake of brevity.—ED.

went to another, because they could not see me so often as they wished. 6. When I see persons I give them such general advice for conquering besetting faults, as I know from experience to be useful. And these sometimes (if they wish it) take the form of rules. But I do not recommend anything to interfere with domestic life. They would be rules how to subdue ill-temper, egotism, self-consciousness, and the like; or, in other cases, how to resist great temptations. 7. A few persons apply to me habitually in all their difficulties; and I always help anyone when I can. 8. There are persons who, if it were not for me, would join the Roman communion. I am very sorry that they depend upon me, but I cannot help it. *I* cannot change their minds. God only can. 9. I never, I believe, encourage dependence on myself. 10. I do not profess to undertake their 'guidance.' I was quite surprised when I saw in your Lordship's letter to Mr. Marriott so much mention of it. People come to me, then read books of controversy or Roman books of devotion which I know nothing of, and should prevent if I knew of it, and then it is all put down to me. 11. I think that there are very few indeed who are what would be technically called under my guidance; and anything of this sort has grown up accidentally, *i.e.* they have applied oftener, and so had more of advice than others. But the only way in which I could really explain this to your Lordship would be by seeing you at some time, if you would speak confidentially to me, give me your impressions, tell me facts, or supposed facts, at some time when you should have leisure to see me for a full explanation. I have known some persons say, 'I never do anything without consulting Dr. P.,' of whom I might truly say that they would act much better if they did not. They fancy they act upon my judgment, because I give them advice when they ask it, and then do things which I am very sorry for, when I happen to hear of it. I have been told, *e.g.* 'Such an one who is under your guidance does so and so,' when perhaps I have seen her three times in my life, and know nothing of what is done. I have seen a great number of souls, but have for the most part given them general advice from time to time. I have not

time for guidance. I am continually reproaching myself with being unable to attend to people's real needs, so far from giving them minute guidance. I should be very glad to explain to your Lordship anything of this sort hereafter which your Lordship may wish to know. I beg to remain, your Lordship's humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

Nov. 30, 1850.

Dear Dr. Pusey,—I gladly substituted the expression of my wish for an inhibition. First, because circumstances prevented my giving you longer hearing. Secondly, and still more, because I was glad of the least which would secure what I felt bound to obtain, because I should be most unwilling to do anything which, in the present angry state of men's minds, would stir up any greater bitterness against you. I shall wait the necessary time for your answer to Mr. Dodsworth under our present arrangement. But in the meantime, as it may in some degree direct the course of your answer, I think it due to you to state with all frankness that your letter of last Sunday by no means satisfies me. In my letter to Mr. Marriott, which I understand you to have seen, I have pointed out distinctly what seems to me to be one especial difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome touching Confession. The Church of England *allows* it in cases of spiritual distress where the sick conscience cannot find peace through the ordinary ministrations of the Word and Sacraments, as a special remedy for a special disorder, and as a means of restoring the soul to a state in which such remedies will be no longer needed. The Church of Rome regards Confession to a priest, and consequent Absolution, and still further, Priestly Direction, as the only safe habitual state. Hence in practice: The Roman communion, 1, enforces Confession; 2, enforces its repetition; 3, uses all means to make it minute and detailed, and so runs the fearful risks (1) of polluting the soul of the questioned by

the prurient imagination of the questioner; (2) of fixing in words passing temptations which are best averted by flight; (3) of violating family relations; (4) and what I rank even above all these, of destroying in time all true responsibility by passing over to the priest the charge which God has committed to the conscience of each and every soul. I have said that this is one chief difference between the systems of Rome and England. I am bound to add another. The Church of England seems to me to treat such private Confession purely as a relief fitted for the nature God has given us. The Church of Rome invests it with a sacramental character. I think it plain that, here as elsewhere, the Church of England follows the model of the Primitive Church, which on this principle allowed confessions to be made to laymen or clergymen indifferently at the choice of the burdened soul. Now your letter leaves me painfully apprehensive that your system is in this matter more nearly allied to Rome than to England. That you trembled when you began it; that it is the people who come to you for these purposes, and not you who seek them; that your intentions are the purest; that there is much secret impurity abroad; that you do not actually enforce Confession—all these allegations of yours are, I doubt not, perfectly true, and yet the fact remains: you seem to me to be habitually assuming the place and doing the work of a Roman Confessor, and not that of an English clergyman. Now I so firmly believe that of all the curses of Popery this is the crowning curse, that I cannot allow voluntarily within my charge the continuance of any ministry which is infected by it. There is a broad difference between advising penitent sinners concerning their souls, and either assuming, or having forced on you the office of confessor or director. It would be difficult to bring home to one who sought to evade it the charge that his ministry is conducted on the latter and not on the former principle; but it cannot, I think, be difficult for an honest mind dealing closely with the question, to apprehend with perfect distinctness, and to make manifest to another, on which set of principles it is acting; and on this subject of Confession nothing would satisfy me short of an

assurance sufficient to convince me that there is no danger of your acting in fact as a Romish confessor in the orders of the English Church. I am, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford.

Dec. 6, 1850.

My dear Lord,—I have entered upon the subject of Confession in my letter to Mr. Maskell, which will be out very soon, and probably your Lordship, if you read it, or at least parts of it, would find occasion to put more definite questions, or perhaps may be dissatisfied with it altogether.

I can only say generally that I have sought honestly to act as a priest of the Church of England. I believe that the evils of the Roman system are the result of the compulsoriness, but I think that authorities in the English Church certainly leave it entirely free. If I may say so with respect to your Lordship's office, I have never seen any authority in the English Church until the present day who has not rather left Confession open to all who wish to use it, in whatever degree they wish it. 'We do not object to any manner of Confession, public or private,' saving compulsion, seems the language of all. I thank your Lordship for giving me these hints on which I may frame my public letter, but the answer to Mr. Maskell is already printed off. But I think it might modify your Lordship's opinion of me if I were to ask you, 'What ought I to do as an English priest, if persons ask me from time to time to allow them to open their griefs, and would not be at peace without so doing?' If your Lordship, looking at the Prayer Book and our English divines, such as I have quoted in my letter to Mr. Richards (p. 121–126), and in the postscript, answers this affirmatively, I can honestly say that this is all that I do. But, more definitively, I do not believe or teach that Confession to a priest, and consequent Absolution, is the only safe habitual state. Priestly direction is altogether independent of Absolution. The 'director' in

the Roman Church is often a different person from the confessor. It is not considered as necessary even there. Of the characteristics, many of which your Lordship gives, of Roman Confession, the two first points—(1) enforcing Confession, and (2) enforcing its continuance— can have no place among us. As to details, I have often been consulted on the subject of the sort of thoughts to which your Lordship alludes. My answer has always been, 'Unless you have deliberately consented to them, or dwelt upon them, they are not yours, but the Evil One's. Turn to some other subject as quickly as you can, and if it has been through any fault of your own that they came to you, say, "Lord have mercy," or the like, and do not dwell upon them.' I have been, in this way, enabled often to remove painful scruples, and to tell minds (as your Lordship thinks also) that such evils are most safely averted by flight. I know that the most scrupulous care is necessary as to asking any questions relating to the seventh commandment. I could only say generally: (1) I have asked no questions, except at the wish of the party; (2) I have never conveyed any knowledge of evil to anyone; (3) such questions would only be put once for all, and would not go so far as the questions in our own books of self-examination; (4) I could avoid questions altogether by putting such a book into a person's hands. I hardly know what your Lordship means by 'interfering with social ties.' There have been cases, certainly, when persons grown up have felt Confession to be necessary for the peace of their consciences, and when they could not quiet them without it. But their parents have been prejudiced against Confession, and I have received them. But I need hardly say that the effect of Confession, in every case in which it has been used, has been to draw the 'social ties' closer together, increasing the love, obedience, and tender affection of the child. With regard to 'throwing responsibility off self,' I believe that the only case has been that of continuing in the English Church. When people have been frightened, bewildered, and did not dare stay on their own judgment, I have let them act on mine. Your Lordship has probably not seen such cases, when people are so panic-stricken that all reasoning is useless,

but they can feel 'you know better than I, and if you think it safe and right for me, I can stay with a quiet conscience.' With regard to Absolution having a sacramental character, I entirely believe that the 'Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments' teaches it. I mean it teaches, I believe, that it is a means of grace with an outward sign ; but on this I am writing more fully. I thought it due to your Lordship to answer in some measure your Lordship's letter. I hope more fully to answer it in the published letters. I propose that you should permit me at some time hereafter to call and explain personally, because I believe that that is more satisfactory than letters. It was precisely because I wished to be perfectly explicit with your Lordship that I proposed it. I am sure that your Lordship could not be thinking of myself when your wrote, 'It may be difficult to bring home to one desirous to evade it ;' certainly, in all my communications with your Lordship, I have shown no wish to reserve anything. I have now only wished to defer explanation until you can have the whole of the case before you. Your Lordship's faithful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

At this point Mr. Keble comes in.

The Rev. J. Keble to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hursley, March 11, 1851.

My dear Lord,—Dr. Pusey has told me in a general way what has lately been passing between you and him. I understand your impression to be that, without any conscious unfaithfulness to the English Church, he nevertheless has got into a way of teaching which tends naturally to turn people's hearts away from her, and towards Rome ; that this result is so certain and so fatal as to make him one of the rare exceptions to the latitude commonly allowable in our Church, in respect of permission to officiate ; and that it depends in a great measure on these two points : Confession, as taught and ministered by him ; and the view which he takes of the

Eucharistical Sacrifice. I believe I am right in supposing that for these or some such reasons Dr. Pusey is at present withheld from even assisting at Holy Communion in S. Mary's Church, by private intimation from your Lordship. Now, to one who feels for the Church of England as I wish at least to do, and who knows besides what I know (more intimately than perhaps anyone else) of Dr. Pusey's true mind and teaching, this state of things is almost heartbreaking. It cannot last long as it is; already the questionings are very difficult for him to parry, when he is asked why he no longer assists at S. Mary's. And when it shall come to be known that he is virtually under suspension for the above reasons, see what the result must be. Persons like myself, who sympathise entirely with Dr. Pusey on these two subjects [I omit others of no small consequence, in which I also believe that I agree with him entirely; but on these two especially I have read with some care all that he has written, *in proof*, and I have offered many suggestions, which he has generally adopted, and am as responsible as anyone beside himself can be]—persons, therefore, like myself would feel themselves touched by such a censure, quite as much as he is. I cannot see how, supposing them to be priests of the Church, they could submit to any such inhibition on the part of their Diocesan; how they could admit the view on which it proceeds, how they could accept or retain cure of souls, in which they might not at their own discretion recommend their parishioners to open their griefs to some one of Christ's ministers; how they could wait upon an altar where they were forbidden to believe and teach that our Eucharist is indeed a sacrifice, in the sense in which it is so called in all the Liturgies of the Undivided Church. From my heart I believe that the sentence thus passed on Dr. Pusey touches all our old and true theologians, and that, if authoritatively adopted by any body of Christians, it would go near to sever that body from the Catholic Church. This feeling, I have reason to know, is shared by persons as remote as possible from a controversial undutiful spirit—the sort of persons, I am sure, we should all of us most desire to sympathise with.

Thus much for the *substance* of his teaching; but it is thought that the manner of it has that sad Romanising effect: for which opinion there is just thus much to be said. That a larger number, possibly, has seceded to Rome from under his special teaching than from that of any other individual now among us. Against this, in all fairness, must be set the facts: First, that more persons have sought his guidance than have come to anyone else for that purpose, so that it is no wonder that his losses are more numerous. Secondly, that many, on Newman's going, were by force of circumstances transferred, as it were, to Pusey, a great proportion of whom, being then disposed to follow Newman, have been by Pusey kept back for a long time; his teaching, instead of causing them to go, was the one thing that hindered their going. He was (as Newman once said of himself) like a hen with a brood of ducklings: no fault of his that they took to the water at last. And thirdly, the popular impression concerning him being once formed, those who had such leanings before would be most apt to seek him out. But of one thing I am quite confident, that if more have passed from his teaching to Rome than from the teaching of any other, more also, by very many, have been positively withheld from Rome by his teaching than have been kept back by any other. That his heart is with the Church of England, I trust you do not doubt; at any rate, *I* am quite sure of it, as sure as I am that my own brother's heart is so, or Sir George Prevost's. I cannot well say more. And do you not think what he has written, done, and suffered in our cause, only since this time last year (he was once made very ill by his labours), is likely to weigh a good deal with all generous and candid spirits, however they may demur to some of his opinions? If I might take such a liberty, I would earnestly entreat your Lordship to take off your interdict for the present, at the least, so far as to allow him to assist in Holy Communion at S. Mary's. As times go, Bishops, it would seem, are very little, if at all, committed by tacitly allowing persons to officiate in their dioceses; but inhibiting a particular person or line of instruction, immediately adds a fresh significance to

the silence kept in other cases; and a person in authority may find himself in a manner committed to extremes which he little contemplated at first. Such a slight concession as I have now indicated would give time for full consideration of the whole matter—time most desirable to be gained, if the subject be half so important as I own it appears to me. Supposing us ever so wrong, surely under all the circumstances it is a case rather for refutation by reason and learning than for simple authoritative censure. I am sure your Lordship will forgive my taking this liberty, which I feel to be great, yet not too great for the share I personally have in the matter. I find that I should not be at rest if I did not in some way apply to you. I am made so very uneasy by this and similar proceedings elsewhere; but by this most especially, because I say to myself, 'Here are two persons who really ought to understand one another; and it seems quite a judgment upon us that they cannot act together on our behalf.' Believe me, my dear Lord, faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. KEBLE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. J. Keble.

Cuddesdon Palace, March 14, 1851.

My dear Mr. Keble,—Your letter has reached me in the midst of an Ordination, which must make you excuse a short reply. I assure you that I never could feel any letter from you to be an intrusion. My position with regard to Dr. Pusey is, and has long been, deeply painful to me. I am fully convinced of the loyalty of his own feelings towards the Church of England. I have no suspicion whatever that he will desert her. I believe that a great part of the outcry against him arises from his firmly holding great truths which the Church of England teaches. I revere his devoutness. With such a man I long to be able to work freely, and to share his reproach. With men *so far* agreeing with him I have worked in my own diocese, and have rejoiced in the late storm to stand by them, shelter them, and bear many of

the blows aimed at them. I mean such men as Butler of Wantage, Stephen Hawtrey, &c. Indeed, that no fear of reproach keeps me apart from Dr. Pusey, I think my silence as to our relations, when one word would have stilled the storm raised against me of late may show. But here is my difficulty:—

1. I believe that Dr. Pusey's 'adaptations' have grievously injured our Church. Dr. Pusey knows and has known my mind on this matter, and yet has published more.

2. I believe that the tone of Dr. Pusey's spiritual directions, and even of many of his own publications, tends not to uphold amongst us Catholic truth, but to create and foster a tendency to Rome. To *answer* Dr. Pusey's writings as you suggest, seems to me the duty of those who have leisure for theological writing. My call is to action. I see a great danger of a very peculiar form, if young men, some very slightly instructed, some struggling out of gross sin, some loving novelty and excitement, were brought under his spiritual guidance. What, in such a case, can I do, though sore at heart at saying so, but say that I do not wish him to exercise his ministry in my diocese? I believe that his influence tends as directly contrary to Prevost's (whom you name) as possible.

What seems to me my duty now is this: to study thoroughly his recently published statements of his own position and doctrine (in this I am far advanced); to consider the bearing of them on his adaptations, and then to give him distinctly and in writing my conclusion. This I will do as soon as the press of business allows; and in the meantime I think that matters ought to remain *in statu quo.* I am, my dear Mr. Keble, affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The following from the Bishop of Salisbury refers to the printed letter alluded to.

The Bishop of Salisbury to the Bishop of Oxford.

Salisbury, April 26, 1851.

My dear Bishop,—Your letter, or rather volume, came to me yesterday when I was pressed by many letters, so that I have not been able to give it the attention I should have wished to do ; nor have I here Pusey's letter, or the books you refer to, so that my criticism will be even of less worth than it might under other circumstances. But I am afraid to keep your letter, and I must therefore send it back with the mere expression of my general opinion, and such little more than verbal criticism as my slower faculties will on such a perusal allow me to venture upon. I will say then that I entirely concur in the general view you take of the character and results of Pusey's teaching. The argument from cases like that of S. Saviour's appears to me conclusive, and I do not doubt that you correctly join with this the others to which your fuller knowledge of their circumstances enables you to refer. I think, too, you have been remarkably successful, far more than I should have anticipated, in tracing out the causes of this, and that your letter exposes a larger amount of error in his publications than I should have expected to find there. It appears to me, therefore, very desirable that you should complete your letter and send it. But it is so important a step in its possible consequences that you cannot be too careful in guarding every position. If I understand right, the matter now rests in that state in which you wish it to be. Pusey is, by your private request, not preaching ; and I confess that I prefer this state to that of a formal prohibition. Ever most truly yours,

E. SARUM.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford.

May 23, 1851.

My Lord,—When I was in London last week I heard the report of some measure which your Lordship was said to be about to take against myself. I deeply regret, for the sake

of others, that your Lordship has refused my repeated request that you would allow me to explain myself to you, if after your Lordship should have read my printed letter to the Bishop of London, you should still remain unsatisfied. As your Lordship intimated to me that you intended to examine my adapted books, and I do not know on which, if any, your Lordship's intended step (if it be so) may be founded, it seems right now to mention to your Lordship that some of them (I know as to the two works of Avrillon) are out of print, and the bookseller says, 'out of the market,' and that in the 'Spiritual Combat' I altered by a cancel one expression, as soon as I saw that it might be understood in a way which I did not intend.

I do not write this as not being prepared to defend in an Ecclesiastical Court what I have published. Your Lordship's humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The next day he writes again.

May 24, 1851.

My Lord,—I beg to thank you for your kindness in sending me the proofs of what you have thought it right to write against me. I have only just opened it, but I see that the references are chiefly from books out of print. I can say absolutely nothing, writing these few lines with one in the room who has come to consult me about his difficulties. But I wished to ask your Lordship, since Mr. Keble feels himself equally affected by everything which is directed against myself, whether I may be allowed to show the proofs to Mr. Keble. I said the less yesterday because I did not know what the course might be which your Lordship meant to take. I must still hope that your Lordship's difficulties may be removed. But I should think that, if the suspension were continued, the only satisfactory way to the Church would be 'to try in' the Ecclesiastical Court whether I had committed an offence against the Church. Your Lordship's humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

May 26, 1851.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—You are quite at liberty to show Mr. Keble the proof which I have sent you. I shall not expect to hear from you till you have taken time enough to do what you wish in this respect; and as you had not read my letter when you wrote, I will not enter upon your further remarks till I hear. I am, sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The following passage referring to Dr. Pusey's letters is taken from a memorandum in the Bishop's handwriting: 'As Dr. Pusey is ready to defend what he has published, it makes no essential difference whether the works from which I have quoted are, or are not, out of print. But as a matter of fact I have just purchased a copy of one, in which the strongest language on which I have remarked is contained.' Also, 'that as Dr. Pusey has no cure of souls within the diocese of which he is deprived, there is no need of referring the questions between us to the decision of the Ecclesiastical Courts.'

The following letter from Mr. Keble, and the Bishop's answer, will be read with interest. The part of Mr. Keble's letter which has been omitted contains arguments about the personal matters in respect of which the Bishop gave way for the reasons stated previously, and also arguments in support of Dr. Pusey's supposed teaching on the Holy Eucharist. As the Bishop was satisfied with Dr. Pusey's doctrine on this point, it seems needless to print these passages; besides, as has been often stated, the Bishop never called in question Dr. Pusey's *doctrine*, but pointed out the practical effect of his teaching.

The Rev. J. Keble to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hursley, June 13, 1851.

My dear Lord,—I should ill repay your kindness in allowing me to write to you on these matters, if I did not deal quite frankly with you, and this feeling compels me, having seen your last letter to Dr. Pusey, to say that I am greatly disappointed with it. I mean especially with regard to personal matters. . . . I do hope that your Lordship will not enter on this course of suspending for mere tendencies, which no judicial mind can approve, and which is but too likely (considering our common frailty) to be made instrumental to feelings of dislike, such as ought not to be indulged in that way. And this the rather because here also you decline to give particulars, such as alone could bring this matter of tendency to a fair judicial issue. You speak of 'many instances in all ranks, &c.;' but when Pusey offers to go into detail, you take no notice of his offer. Now surely a few cases might be gone into as a specimen. My own conviction is, as I told your Lordship before, that he has been the greatest drag upon those who were rushing towards Rome; that such an abuse being inevitable, under our circumstances, whenever the attention of thoughtful persons should be generally drawn towards the doctrine of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, Pusey was raised, as it were, for this very purpose, to hinder their defection, as by other ways, so especially by showing them that all their reasonable yearnings are sufficiently provided for in the English system rightly understood; that it could not be but that, under such circumstances, Pusey would appear to superficial observers as smoothing men's way to Rome, as anyone else would who was the most efficient person in a move opposed to Puritanism; but that the more the matter was looked into, the more it would be seen that he was the great check on their going; *e.g.* the temptation arising from Hampden's being made and acknowledged Bishop would have been more keenly, more extensively felt, had there been no Pusey among us. It is no answer to this to say, that

a great many of those who go attribute their going to Pusey and his teaching; they must do so for the credit of their logic; it is but another manner of saying that Antiquity led them that way. And some of them, I believe, make it a point of duty to drive him up, if they can, into a corner, expecting that he will be forced to follow them. But whether I am right or wrong in these opinions, it is plainly unjust and cruel to inflict such a disgrace and disability upon him without giving him the chance, so far as it may be done, of clearing himself. It is not so much on his account that I write. I have my own opinion, founded on tolerably intimate knowledge, of the effect likely to be produced on himself by this, or anything else that he might suffer in the cause to which he has devoted himself. But it will be a bitter grief to see the encouragement which such a step on your Lordship's part will give to the various enemies of the good cause; and no small addition to that grief to be obliged to hear what they will say of you, without being able boldly to speak up and justify you. Do you remember, my Lord, what you kindly said to me when the Hampden distress was thickening on us? 'I do not intend in any sense to throw the promoters overboard.' Now, I fear that you will be doing that very thing; but God forbid. My dear Lord, I speak the more earnestly because I cannot but perceive, in your whole tone towards Dr. Pusey, a disfavour which can only arise from some strange misapprehension. The printed letter appeared to me quite the letter of an advocate making the most of everything in the way of accusation, and glad to catch it up. And this is what I meant in speaking of the tone of that letter. You do not seem aware (what of course I should not dwell upon to him) how very near you have gone to charging him with direct falsehood. At least such is my impression from memory, that you have expressed belief in the opposite anonymous statement[4] rather than his. I am very sorry to add in any degree to the pain and anxiety which these times have brought on

[4] It is as well again to mention that the statement referred to was not anonymous; it was made by a well-known and most respected clergyman, belonging to the High Church School; but his name cannot be given.

your Lordship, far more than in common with most of us. But it came before me as a sort of sacred duty, and personally, I am sure, you will forgive me. I beg leave to remain, your faithful friend and servant,

J. KEBLE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. J. Keble.

June 16, 1851.

My dear Mr. Keble,—I thank you for your kind letter, received this morning. I will thoroughly weigh its arguments. But I would at once say to you what appears at first sight to me about it. 1. I have entirely dismissed from my mind, so far as action, word, or judging estimate of the case goes, all that has come to me privately, and to which I cannot refer Dr. Pusey so as to get his answer. 2. I do not charge Dr. Pusey with falsehood. There is room enough in the diverse estimate formed by him and others of the application of principles he has avowed, to account, with the not unnatural forgetfulness as to all their details of one much engaged in such works, for the difference between them. For he allows (1) that he thinks a parent's control in such matters very limited. (2) That he has advised concealment on such subjects when he was sure that speaking would only give the parents pain, &c.; and these heads will really include all that I have said. But (3) that which affects me most is this: so far from being able to believe with you that Dr. Pusey is the great hinderer of Romanising, my judgment is still convinced that no one has done more to bring our best people into that state in which their Romanising is inevitable. I entirely believe that he then tries to prevent them going over; but I think he has done very much to bring them into the neighbourhood of the overpowering attraction, and the proof of this is, I think, in *his published writings*. You speak of my having sought to find grounds, &c. Indeed I have not. I have merely looked at them with all the impartiality of which I am capable, to see what their true tone is. I have not altered any charge. I do think that in the passages I

have quoted Dr. Pusey has accustomed his readers to statements as to the Holy Eucharist, and to devotional tastes, which must incline them to Rome. He says the books are out of print. But (1) I have myself had from his publisher one of the books from which I chiefly quote, which I sent for since I began to examine them now; and (2) as he says he adheres to everything in them, what real effect on the question would such an accident of being out of print have? If he could in answer to my letter, however guarded (and I would gladly guard it, leaving out all mention of direct inhibition, &c., if it could draw such an answer), reply to me publicly by saying, (1) That he does feel chiefly the differences between Rome and ourselves. (2) That he sees that expressions and tones of devotion, &c., which he inserted in his adaptations, may favour Romanising tendencies, and that he therefore recalls them; and if any such answer could reach far enough, and enter enough into details, to prevent this mischief which I fear, something might be done. I am convinced that real R. Hooker Church of England religion is at stake. My own hands, and the hands of all who would uphold these truths, are thus utterly weakened, and this is what moves me. Pardon me for saying, (1) that it seems to me that personal affection prevents your seeing this danger as I do; and (2) that I cannot see in any way the bearing of the promoters of the Hampden case position on this. Believe me that I have never forgotten your kindness thereabout, and that I would do anything but shrink from an inevitable duty now to hold inviolate your kindly and well-judging estimate. I shall gladly hear from you, if you will suggest anything. Indeed, it is a bitter time—one as to which, so far as my share has gone, the bitterness and anxiety could not very easily be in kind increased. I am, my dear Mr. Keble, affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The following refers to the printed letter, showing that the Bishop had submitted it to his brother's judgment, who, as may be gathered from a former letter,

was a supporter of Dr. Pusey's views. It is quoted here on account of the passages referring to the Real Presence.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Near London, June 24, 1851.

My dearest Brother,—I am very glad you have got comfortably through your charge, though sorry that you think there is anything in it as to which we should not agree. Oh, may this difference never be widened, I most earnestly pray God! I shall be very glad to examine any passages in S. Ambrose you will point out. I have found none in the 'De Mysteriis,' &c., which did not seem to me to be explained by the simple fact that he contemplated the elements as always connected with their administration and reception. This seems to me wholly different from speaking of the 'Presence' as the result of the faith of the receiver. It merely says that they contemplate a receiver as the necessary complement of the act of consecration: so that, if the elements, after consecration, were consumed by a beast, that beast would consume only natural bread. Therefore, viewed irrespective of the receiver, there is no warrant for adoration, &c.; whilst to the intending receiver you may use the strongest words as to the Real Presence. I have recast most of the passages you mainly objected to, if not all, so as to remove many of your objections; and I shall be sending Pusey a revised proof in a day or two.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford.

June 26, 1851.

My Lord,—I have just returned for the press the last sheet of the sermon of which I wrote, although incomplete without the appendix. A copy will be sent to your Lordship.

I have been waiting for the revised statement which your

Lordship proposed to send me, and meanwhile for any confidential statements upon the second question, upon which I am sure that your Lordship is very greatly misinformed—the number of those who have left the Church of England who have been under my guidance, and the degree of that guidance. Does your Lordship think that there have been more than twenty such who have ever confessed their sins to God before me? and of those twenty does your Lordship think that above half have been to any great degree under my guidance, and the few, who were really under my care without strong counteracting influences which I could tell your Lordship of? I am, your Lordship's humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

June 28, 1851.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—I have within the last few days had a long conversation with Mr. Keble, who has represented to me that I might discharge what I apprehend to be my duty in this matter with less that would be personally painful to you, if, whilst matters were to be left on their present footing as to your officiating in my diocese, instead of publishing my letter, which I have just received from the printers, and which I have been waiting to send to you, I spoke in my coming charge of the dangers I apprehended from certain lines of teaching, and threw my special remarks on your adapted works into an appendix. This would, moreover, give time for the publication of your sermon, and for fully considering whether you could hereafter express to the Church any sense of the danger which attends the use of such devotions as those to which I so strongly object. I am convinced, from your asking me to enumerate the cases, that you are not aware of what has really resulted from accustoming the minds of our people to such modes of thought. Since I wrote last to you, I have been applied to for help by another clergyman whose wife's sister has been brought to the verge of

Romanising by the use of Dr. Pusey's adaptations. I am, sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford.

July 2, 1851.

My Lord,—If Mr. Keble shall think it would save scandal, or hinder harm to the Church or to people's souls, that I should silently acquiesce in being suspended by your Lordship from all public functions in your diocese, except at Pusey, I shall thankfully repose in his judgment. For myself, it seems to me quite clear that there are only two satisfactory terminations—that your Lordship should give me a distinct hearing as to doctrine and practice ; and if your Lordship was satisfied that I do not go against the doctrine of the Church, that you should leave me as free as I believe you do every other priest in Oxford (except one). I mean, my Lord, that if tones and tendencies are not regarded in the one way ; they ought not, in justice, in the other. Germanism is (as the Bishop of London, too, thinks) a far greater and more imminent peril than Romanism. I have lately had a letter from a clergyman imploring me to furnish a friend of his (once a member of this College) with arguments to meet the Pantheistic sentiments and opinions which he continually meets with in *educated* society in London. I believe myself that —— and his school are preparing far more directly for Pantheism than I can be alleged to be for Romanism. The history in Germany is distinct evidence for this. Pantheism sprang out of much sounder divinity than ——'s, and in this place whatever ground Germanism has gained has been since those principles which I believe to be those of the Church of England have been discouraged. It is easier, my Lord, to pull down than build up. For myself, I would most thankfully have retired long ago from every office of responsibility, and sought peace, and left the struggle to your Lordship, had I dared. Most thankful should I have been to have been set free from this weary strife, but I dared not. I have seen for

twenty-six years that Neologism was the peril which was before the English Church, and that the course which Evangelical theology (like the Pietism of Germany) shall take, would have much to do with the issue. But I must not digress. If I and my friends were to retire, I believe your Lordship would see whether we have been keeping people within the Church of England, or leading them from her; whether we have been opposing Rationalism successfully or no. I do not retire, because I dare not, and I believe that your Lordship would have reason to regret in both ways if I did. This is my apology for persevering. But, since I must stay here, I ask at your Lordship's hands the same measure you mete out to others. You do not (as far as it is known) suspend others on account of *tendencies*. But I claim that this should end in one of two ways—restoration or prosecution; not a half measure which (as I ventured to say before) will irritate some and satisfy nobody, and which must end in my publicly calling upon your Lordship to substantiate, if you can, in a court of law, the charges upon which you proceed. If your Lordship would be hindered by the expense (having so many other calls upon your income), I would offer to pay your expenses, were you to prosecute me. If I have taught anything contrary to the Church of England, I have no wish to avoid being convicted; but I do deprecate any extra-judicial condemnation. . . .

I shall communicate this letter as well as your Lordship's to Mr. Keble, and do what he advises, although my own opinion is strongly against informal suspensions. In this state of the English Church I should think that an open prosecution would be less injurious, and might, in the end, even tend to clearing our difficulties, which the other course would but aggravate. Your Lordship's humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Bishop had already replied to Dr. Pusey on one of the points mentioned in the above letter, namely, that of his different attitude towards theologians of an

opposite school. It was unnecessary to quote that letter in its order, as it principally dealt with other matters; therefore the Bishop's reasons for not acting as Dr. Pusey thought he ought to have acted, with regard to those teachers, follow here.

. . . Again, you name to me Mr. —— and others, as equally deserving of the same treatment. I can only say, that if I saw the same definite and distinct dangers about their teaching, I should esteem it my clear duty to adopt the same course of treatment with them.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

July 4, 1851.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—I shall wait to hear again from you when you have heard from Mr. Keble, before I touch on the question of your officiating in my diocese. But there are one or two parts of your letter which I will answer at once. 1st. I am not blind to the threatening evils of Neologian teaching, but I know of no person situated with regard to me at all similarly with yourself who appears to me at all as definitely chargeable with spreading it as I have believed you to be with the preparing of men's minds for Romanising. 2nd. The danger I have apprehended from your adaptations is, not that they should lead persons to ask how there can be so much good amongst Roman Catholics, and so be disposed to join them; but that, by the use of such devotions, their own minds should unconsciously assume a Roman Catholic attitude. Of this, of course, they would be themselves unconscious; and so, however truly your adaptations had been the cause, it would be far more apparent to others than to themselves. 3rd. I ought not to pass over what you say as to prosecution, and your offer as to its expenses. The expense of such a step has had, and could have, no weight with me, if I thought it for the good of the Church. But I am clear that it would not be. There may, I think, be

grounds which would not warrant a prosecution, which would justify a Bishop in privately expressing his wish that a presbyter with no cure of souls in his diocese should not officiate therein; and this, and no formal inhibition, my last letter proposed. I am, sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

Dr. Pusey wrote on July 9, saying that, as the question was reduced to the adapted books, that he had determined long ago not to reprint 'Avrillon,' the one from which the quotations were made, and also saying that he doubted whether he should ever publish any more adaptations or not, because of the feeling against them evinced by certain people. He further said that he thought some of the clergy in the diocese would refuse to officiate except under a declaration that they agreed in doctrine with him. This was beside the point. The Bishop had never impugned Dr. Pusey's doctrine. The following letter shows how Dr. Pusey's appeal for restitution (which was also contained in this letter) was entertained.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

July 18, 1851.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—What I meant to say I will now repeat as clearly as I am able. (1) I believe that the circulation of your adapted Roman devotions has been one prominent cause of the Romanising leaven which has been for years working, and still works, amongst us. (2) I believe that there has been a tendency in your private ministry to lead several whom it has reached into such a state of feeling towards Rome and Roman uses, as that they have, to your great grief, passed on to Rome. I believe, therefore, that your ministry, if exercised in full accordance with your adapted books, is likely to help forward that Romeward tendency which, in many minds, is our present especial danger. Mr.

Dodsworth's specific and heavy charges tended greatly to confirm me in this view. Under these circumstances I intimated to you that, until you had to my satisfaction answered Mr. Dodsworth, I wished you not to officiate in my diocese (I excepted, for reasons personal to yourself, the small village church of Pusey), and, if need were, I was prepared to enforce this by inhibition. You have now answered Mr. Dodsworth, have published a sermon bearing on some of the points under discussion, and have given me many private explanations. I think your position so far improved that, taking into account the large liberty allowed on the other side, I do not feel that it would be just to require your silence on pain of inhibition. But, on the other hand, I cannot with truth say that I am satisfied as to the effects of your ministry ; nor can I be, so long as what appear to me the unwarrantable statements of your adapted works remain undisavowed by you ; and I cannot, therefore, but tell you that it is my wish, as Chief Pastor of the diocese of Oxford, that you should not officiate therein without thus manifestly separating yourself from what tends to aid the Romanising movement in its earlier stage. But, having told you this, I leave you to act as you think it right to act, with that knowledge. I purpose, God willing, in my next charge to express my opinion freely on these subjects; and I think it would be on all accounts desirable that, until after the visitation, matters should remain *in statu quo.* There are some passages in your last letter which I read with great regret, and though they do not make me alter the decision at which I had arrived, yet I think it right to point them out to you. Now, as to these statements, I must say, 1st, that I deny that I have not heard you. I have invited any written communications you may wish to send me. I am ready to receive more. And as to the 2nd, I have already stated that I do not think that the highly responsible power now possessed by a Bishop, of preventing in his diocese ministrations which he deems injurious to the Church, by one without cure of souls in it, ought to be limited to cases of heresy and false doctrine, capable of punishment in the

courts of law. To this view of my duty I adhere, and upon it I shall act. You use language concerning declarations which you expect from some clergy of my diocese, as to their not officiating except under protest of their agreeing with you—which is far too like a threat. You state that I am meditating 'punishing you without hearing you,' and you intimate that in the event of my acting, you shall call publicly upon me, by the most formal appeal, to sustain my decision in a court of law, instead of punishing you in an arbitrary way. And, since you have recourse to such a threat, I can only say that, until it is withdrawn, I distinctly and formally prohibit your performing any ministerial act in my diocese, under pain of formal inhibition. I am, my dear Dr. Pusey, very faithfully yours,

S. OXON.

In reply to this letter, Dr. Pusey explained that he had not meant to say anything as a threat; and also that he could not accept restitution as the Bishop offered it, as it would be impossible for him to preach against the wish of his Bishop.

On July 16, Mr. Justice Coleridge wrote to the Bishop. He commenced by confessing his ignorance as to the cause of difference, as well as to the course the Bishop intended to take. Whether the ground of complaint was the adapted publications, or a sermon, or what, he said he always had thought the books open to comment; but he considered that, even if it could be proved that the use of the books had led people Romeward—nay, further, if it could be proved that it was the intention of the publisher that such should be the result—in his opinion, that was no ground for proceeding judicially. Then follow his opinions on the duties of a Bishop. After these comes the real point of the letter: 'I firmly believe that nothing would so unsettle the minds of a large number of people, at present quite

loyal to the Church, as to see a Bishop engaged against Dr. Pusey.' Again, that although it would not satisfy him with Rome, yet it would dissatisfy him with the Church of England, did he believe that that Church did not sanction Dr. Pusey's opinions. He also adopted the same line of argument as Mr. Keble, viz. that 'people, after reading Dr. Pusey's books, do go on till they end in Rome;' still that he is 'satisfied that both by his conduct and his writings Dr. Pusey keeps, and has kept, many from Rome.' The letter concluded by urging the Bishop not to suspend him from preaching or to proceed against him.

The Bishop's reply shows how the case then stood.

The Bishop of Oxford to Mr. Justice Coleridge.

July 19, 1851.

My dear Mr. Justice Coleridge,—First, let me thank you sincerely for your letter to me in all its parts. Next, let me assure you that I feel deeply what you urge, and shall still more carefully weigh what has already cost me most anxious and painful thought, from the manner in which you have pressed it on me. The whole matter is too large to enter on here. I firmly believe that all, and more than all, you say in praise of Dr. Pusey is true; still I believe (1) that his adapted books have eminently aided, and are aiding, the Romanising movement; (2) that there are elements in his private ministry tending the same way; (3) I believe that there are passages in his adapted works actually censurable in a Church court. If Dr. Pusey would allow such faults and dangers, and so consent to withdraw the sanction of his name from the employment of such books, my course would be easy. At present he is silent on the private expression of my desire; so I am contented to remain, and, at all events, I do not wish, unless he compels me to so, to take any immediate step. I shall in my charge (D.V.), in the third week

in October, state my views on these matters. I will only add that I shall always thank you for giving me your opinion on any such matters. I am, ever most truly yours,

S. OXON.

In October 1852, the Bishop delivered his Charge,[5] which was one of great length, occupying two and a half hours in delivery. In that Charge he quoted selections from the adapted books.

The passages from the books were reprinted in the appendix of this Charge, but are much too long for quotation. A single instance, however, is given. The Bishop said, referring to the books, 'forms and modes of expression, which, however originally orthodox, have in the course of time become absolutely identified with leading Roman corruptions, have been freely used. These seem to the reader, who knows no more, directly to favour that corrupted form of faith.' Again: 'I believe that the use of Roman Catholic books of devotion exposes men grievously to this danger.' [A note in the Charge says] 'The Romanists are well aware of this. A recent writer of their communion, referring to "Dr. Pusey's adaptations," says: "For one whom our books of controversy have brought round, twenty at least have yielded to the power of our devotions."' [The Bishop goes on] 'Even if all direct statements of Roman error were excluded, yet they are alien to the sober teaching of the Church of England.' [The appendix then gives the passages:] 'On the second day thou wilt offer homage to the Heart of Jesus, lying as an infant in the stable; on the third to His mouth, on the fourth to His eyes, on the fifth to His hands, on the sixth to

[5] Published by J. Murray.

His feet, on the seventh to His flesh.' [On which the Bishop says:] 'We address prayers to our Blessed Lord, who is a Person, and can hear prayer; but, even if it be lawful, it is a question whether it is expedient to address prayers to separate parts of His body, which are not persons, as if they were capable of hearing our prayers, and consciously co-operating in the work of our redemption.'

On April 18, 1852, Dr. Pusey wrote to the Bishop, saying that. with Mr. Keble's approval, he requested liberty to preach with the Bishop's sanction, urging his recently published University sermons, and the latitude allowed by the Church of England. To this the Bishop replied on May 6, as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

May 6, 1852.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—My relations to you have, as you well know, long been a matter of deep anxiety to me. I have dreaded doing injustice on the one hand to you, on the other to the Church. On the one hand, I have feared to interrupt the good which your earnest ministrations are so well calculated to effect in awakening the careless, and on the other I have dreaded encouraging that fatal tendency towards Rome which has so beset us of late, by allowing the exercise of a ministry of the tone of your adapted books of devotion. Whilst Mr. Dodsworth's charges remained unanswered my course seemed to me to be clear, and I acted upon it. I have since stated publicly in my charge what the errors are which appear to me to pervade those books, and I have noted all the dangers I should fear from your ministry. With these statements before you, you apply to me to set you free to exercise your ministry by preaching in my diocese; and- looking

I. At your recent sermons before the University;

II. At your private assurances to me of the strength of

your convictions, and the earnestness of your labours against Roman doctrine;

III. At the large liberty allowed to our clergy, who seem to me to go to quite as great length in the opposite direction as you in yours—

I do not feel that I can do otherwise than reply to you as I now do, that I set you free as you request. I am, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

CHAPTER IV.

(1851–1852.)

SPEECH ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ASSUMPTION BILL—DEFENCE OF THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL—TOUR ABROAD—DESCRIPTIONS—THE BISHOP'S VIEWS ON CONTINENTAL RELIGION—LETTER TO MR. BUTLER ON TEUTONS AND CELTS—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. GLADSTONE AND THE BISHOP—VIEW OF THE SITUATION—MEETING OF CONVOCATION—THE BISHOP MOVES AN ADDRESS TO THE CROWN—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—THE SWINDON MEETING—LETTERS TO THE ARCHDEACON OF BRISTOL—THE ARCHBISHOP AND MR. GLADSTONE—MR. GLADSTONE'S ANSWER—THE 'TIMES' AND S. G. O. ON THE REVIVAL OF CONVOCATION—CHANCELLORSHIP OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY—THE BISHOP'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—MEETING OF CONVOCATION FOR BUSINESS—THE ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN—COMMITTEES APPOINTED—LETTERS TO MR. GORDON AND ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE.

THE events in the first of these two years which this chapter chronicles, are nearly all comprised in the preceding chapter. In the second, the Bishop was occupied principally in the work of the revival of Convocation which is here recorded. Two matters, unconnected with either of these leading subjects, are too important to be passed over altogether. They both took place in 1851, and are as follows. The agitation of the previous winter induced the Government to bring forward 'The Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill.' It was referred to in the Speech from the Throne, and was passed in the House of Commons by overwhelming majorities. On July 29 the second reading of the Bill came on in the House of Lords. An extract from the Bishop's speech is given, showing that,

although he thought legislation on this matter was necessary, yet, if the Government passed the Bill merely to allay public feeling, and then allowed it to become a dead letter, harm instead of good would be occasioned to that Church, the protection of which, was the ostensible reason for passing this Bill.

There were circumstances—and those not unknown to many of their Lordships—which rendered it very painful for him to approach this subject. If he had not the fullest belief that if he gave a silent vote on this subject it would lead to the misconstruction or misconception of his motives he would have been well content to remain silent; but there were high grounds which rendered it incumbent that he should come forward and explain the reasons why he gave his full, hearty and rational assent to the Bill. The first reason was: that as we are the authorities of the Church in this land, to whom has been committed by the law of the land and the people of the land the spiritual superintendence of the education of the poor, we are bound, on two distinct grounds, to protest against this aggression of the Bishop of Rome; first, because it is the introduction of false and fallacious religious doctrine into the land, and secondly, because it is a systematic intrusion of a rival Church, into the ground already occupied by the Protestant Church of England as by law established.

The Bishop further said:—

that he believed the real desire for a Romish hierarchy in this country, was not for the administration of spiritual affairs but to increase and encourage conversions, those conversions which had saddened and made mournful the face of the Church of England. The Bishop, before concluding, earnestly begged the Government not to pass the Bill and not enforce it; such a course he said would be 'an insult to those by whose strength it was carried and a direct encouragement to new acts of aggression.' The Bishop of Rome said: 'You talk, I act. You go on passing resolutions but I go on founding

sees; you go on getting a law passed, I proceed with the ordination of my bishops.' The mere passing of this Bill may produce calm and quiet, but it may be a deceitful calm and we may repose in fancied security till all is lost. I cannot look upon this as a light or trivial matter. I believe that, with the maintenance of our faith, the interests of humanity are at stake. I believe that the dearest rights of the human race are involved in the Reformed faith of the Church of England. I believe that Church is the battle-field upon which the conflict has been and must be fought. You have a subtle enemy and a powerful foe to contend against: a Church which has existed for 1,300 years through 40 generations of men—a Church which is wary and incessantly watchful, most able in carrying on this struggle—a Church full of the traditions of her victories and of the successes of her councils, which has in her communion many of the noblest and ablest men—a Church which spares no pains in the training of her priests, to fit them not only for her ministry, but for the making of converts—the Church of Rome understands the value of our Church and the resistance of our people to her pretensions She fears our Church, because she knows it is the true Apostolic Church; and it is because she entertains those ideas that she is incessant in her endeavours to supplant or overthrow the Church of England, that some of the dearest ties of domestic life have been most mercilessly sacrificed. Knowing as I do it is for this she has sent out a new order of friars to preach a holy crusade against the Church of England; that she has newly instituted and sent out Oratorians to harangue and Jesuits to intrigue; and being aware of all this I say that if you pass a measure which is to leave us weaker in the conflict, because it is to be a measure promising much and performing little, you will have done evil service to the Reformed faith of this land.

A note in one of the Bishop's almanacks, which then supplied the place afterwards filled by the diaries, is as follows :—'*July* 23. The good Bishop of Gloucester much moved by my defence of him from Hors-

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
NOTTINGHAM.

man.' The occasion to which this refers is as follows. Certain members of the House of Commons made themselves conspicuous by their unceasing attacks upon the Bishops. In this particular instance it came to Mr. Horsman's knowledge that a large sum of money, in the shape of a fine for renewing a lease, amounting to 11,500*l.*, had become payable to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Monk). It is unnecessary here to enter into the detail of Mr. Horsman's attack on Bishop Monk for receiving this sum. Bishop Monk was absent from England, being ill, and having been ordered abroad; he therefore wrote to Bishop Wilberforce explaining the facts of the case, and asked him to publicly state them in the House of Lords. They were very simple. Some years before, Bishop Monk had advanced the sum of 5,000*l.* out of his private means for the purpose of establishing an educational institution in Bristol, on the understanding that this amount should be repaid either to himself, if living; if not, to his children, out of the fine, whenever it fell in, and the balance was to go towards the endowments of small livings in Bristol.

The papers necessary for giving Bishop Wilberforce full information on the subject had been promised for that evening. Some delay occurred, and when the Bishop rose to speak they had not arrived. Such, however, was his power that he managed to keep the attention of the House without alluding to the special purpose for which he rose, and it was not till he had been speaking for half an hour that the papers arrived. The Bishop opened them, and got his information from them while speaking; he completely vindicated his absent friend, summing up his speech as follows:—

I can assure your Lordships that an expression of your sympathy will be dear to my Right Reverend Brother, who, without friends or patronage, has, by the force of his learning and ability, raised himself to eminence in the Church and in society; who has been in his diocese and amongst those who have known him remarkable for nothing more than his open-handed liberality; who, absent from his country, sick in body and depressed in spirit—at an age almost reaching the period assigned to man—is unable to defend himself in person against the unrelenting persecution to which he has been so long exposed, and who, under the unexampled misrepresentation of which he has been made the victim, would feel it one of his highest gratifications to know that this statement had been made openly before the country and to find that he still maintained the love and admiration of your Lordships.

The tour on the Continent the Bishop took this year, ought to be mentioned as showing his singular power of being able to cast off almost suddenly the cares and troubles of which, as the last chapter showed, he had plenty, and enjoy his leisure with almost boyish spirits. This elasticity of mind is all the more remarkable when, as in this instance, the Bishop was suffering from illness, against which he struggled for about six weeks, when it finally laid him prostrate at Como, under the charge of an Italian doctor, who starved and lowered him till he was most seriously ill. His daughter and niece were then the only two of the party left with the Bishop, and it is needless to describe their anxiety and alarm. It however happened that when they were out walking, Miss Wilberforce and her cousin saw a little dog which they recognized as belonging to Dr. Alderson. They followed the dog to its home, and to their great joy found they were right. Dr. Alderson immediately came to the hotel where the Bishop was, reversed the whole of the treatment,

moved the Bishop to Milan, and then, giving up his own plans, joined the Bishop's party, and took charge of him home. Except during the days of illness at Como, this tour is daily chronicled in a journal which was written up each evening and read aloud to the party next day. Written as it was, principally for the amusement of his daughter, most of it is in a sort of doggrel verse. Some of the lines are most pathetic, as, for instance, those describing the parting with his brother the Archdeacon, whom they met at Lucerne, and who for a short time joined their party.

The party consisted, in addition to the two ladies, of Mr. Pye, then engaged to Miss Wilberforce, to whom he was married in October, and the Bishop's nephew, W. F. Wilberforce, the eldest son of the Bishop's brother, the Archdeacon.

The Journal describes the churches, pictures, rivers, the views they saw on their journey through France and Germany into Switzerland, conversations the Bishop had with men of all classes whom he met, sometimes in the train, sometimes in the steamers. For instance, there is one conversation recorded with a member of the lay fraternity of St. Alexis, another with an Alpine chamois-hunter. The flowers, the butterflies, the birds, were, as the Journal shows all noticed. An extract from the Journal of August 21 is as follows :—

> The Grimsel. We started this morning, going by the Glacier du Rhône to this place. Rather a hard day, the ascent from the Glacier being exceedingly steep. It was wonderfully beautiful ; every form of vegetable and insect life seemed in full enjoyment. The flowers continually changing as we ascended higher ; and we met many of our English garden flowers,—the Pride of London, &c. ; the Rhodo-

dendron alpinum just coming into flower where the snow of an avalanche was melting from it. The Fritillarias, the Hair Streaks in great beauty and the Apollo, were the chief butterflies. The Alauda campestris in abundance. I saw one Accentor alpinus, one small bird of prey and one vast eagle ; and yesterday a pair of the rare Phænicuras. The sun on the snowy mountains was lovely to-day—and all in beauty.

Another extract is as follows :—

As we crossed Zug lake in the long flat-bottomed creaking canoe boat, in which our two *bateliers* with their flat oars pushed us over, all the common champaign country scenery on the right was bathed in sun, whilst the blackest storms were passing amongst the whole grand scenery on our left. It was a wonderful contrast and full of all moral images.

Within a creaking craft o'er Zug's sweet lake
We floated on, too easily to wake
A ripple in its waters, which were bright
With a hot summer's sun, whose gladsome light
Steeped lazy fields and vineyards on our right;
Whilst on the left Mount Pilate's awful form
And every giant Alp were wrapped in storm.
So rests, how oft! untroubled light on those
Who sleep and work and eat and then repose,
Whilst they who fain would heavenward reach e'en here,
Are wrapped in darkening clouds of doubt and fear,
Are black with troubled thoughts and wet with many a tear—
So be it, Lord! if but at last there may
Break in Thy light on us and all be day.

The following extract, written on the return journey, shows the impression left on the Bishop's mind by what he had seen of religion abroad :—

All I see abroad makes me more bless God for our Church. Throughout all the Reformed countries I have seen, religion is gone. In the Romanist countries there is a great appear-

ance of devoutness in worship, but marred with what miserable superstition! what image worship! what blind belief in a priest massing for them! what an absence of God's word! How great has been His goodness in preserving to us alone, so completely, in our Reformation, the Catholic element.

The following letter to Mr. Butler, written nine years after, further illustrates the Bishop's opinions on this point:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

Lavington House, Petworth, Sep. 9th, 1859.

My dear Butler,—Many thanks for your letter and its very interesting account of Brittany. *I* too had been sent from the Idylls to the life of King Arthur and so was in a condition to enter into your letter.

I am very sorry for the sadness of tone which its end breathes. Of course it would be a blessing beyond all price to see our people, *retaining* their present virtues, add to it that deep devotional fervour. But query, has this *ever* been? and, indeed, can it be? Have Teutons ever in this been like Celts? Nay, is it not inconsistent with their self-reliant habits, which are after all so closely mixed up with their conscience and moral tone? Can we have freedom from superstition and that free development of conscience which absolutely requires the full acknowledgment of the supremacy, to the individual, of individual *faith—prayer*, &c., with that high value for the Priest's act in the public congregation which is really in these Bretons THE coming forth of their whole religious life: *we* have to fight against what is always with us running into moral Socinianism; *they* against what is running into demoralized Superstition. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The letters which follow refer to the attacks which had been made on the Bishops during the past Session

in the House of Commons and which had been taken up by some of the newspapers. They also refer to Mr. Bennett, of whom Mr. Cavendish was a strong supporter. The sequel shows that the issues raised in the correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and the Bishop, resulted in the Bishop's great and successful effort for the revival of Convocation.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Cuddesdon Palace, Dec. 26, 1851.

My dear Cavendish,—Many thanks for your letter and for your allowing me to see Gladstone's. I think there is a great deal of saddest truth in what Gladstone says and I have written to him thereon. At the same time with the deepest sense of our undeservings I do think that Gladstone, in spite of his calm and powerful understanding and honest and true heart, shows signs of the natural effect of such continual defamation of the Bishops as the 'Morning Chronicle' habitually indulges itself and its readers with. I mean this, first he puts aside the miserable episcopal appointments of Lord John and the effect of Sir B. Hall's, &c. attacks in the Commons; the silence in reply of those who might be expected to answer them; the continual vituperation of the Low-Church and Dissenting papers; the more mischievous depreciation of the 'Morning Chronicle's' incessant sneers, insinuations and attacks, and the cold, faint, contemptuous praises of the 'Guardian.' All this he, as it were, puts aside and seems to say there is not one Bishop who acts towards his clergy with the ordinary fairness which a principal in an office extends to his assistants, &c.

Now this I think is untrue.

You know that I have never, to my knowledge, failed a single clergyman under me, but have taken on myself the charges against many and borne many through in the disastrous troubles of the last twelve months. But what I really

want Gladstone to do is to suggest how, under the miserable present manning of our Bench, any individual Bishop can mend matters.

And now for Bennett's case. I should be bitterly grieved if he were not restored. But I think he ought to give to the Bishop some real assurances that the reopening of his ministry would not be the beginning of a new set of endeavours to be always doing something to restore some ritual observance, &c. which has no warrant in our Church. For I cannot admit that any individual clergyman has a *right* to restore pre-Reformation observances merely because they are not *totidem verbis* condemned by our Church. Now I do not think it would do any good for me to write to the Bishop of London to urge his restoring Bennett unless he had previously made some such explanation as would enable the Bishop to do so without manifest inconsistency with the fact of having accepted his resignation. I will do all that is in my power and I beg you to suggest at any time anything you think expedient. I should wish to show the Bishop, Gladstone's letter and, if I had permission I would gladly do so to let him fully understand how the matter strikes such a mind. But I should prefer that Gladstone wrote to him a letter stating fully all the evils he depicts in his letter to you: but more fully allowing the various causes which have brought them about.

Can you help me in a matter which I have now much at heart? I want to start *here* a College for training men for the year before their Ordination. I want this done under my own eye and I have just now a great opening for it. I want but 2,000*l.* for it, and I think that I could repay annually $\frac{1}{10}$th of any sums lent to me on the faith of the success of the College. I should then open it (D.V.) this year for 20 men. Now I cannot publicly apply for funds for this and I cannot find them without aid; but I must think that many churchmen, if they knew of my endeavour, would give me their aid. Will you undertake to try what you can do for me? May every blessing be yours, my dear Cavendish, this Christmas season. I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, Dec. 26, 1851.

My dear Gladstone,—Ever since I saw in the paper the announcement of your Father's removal I have intended to write to you. But it has been a time of peculiar occupation and I have always deferred writing. I believe I can enter fully into all the mixed feelings with which you must regard such an irrevocable close of so long protracted an actual interchange of offices of affection and duty—and I have sympathised with you in them as I pictured them to myself.

But though I have been long purposing to write to you, I know not that I might not even yet have delayed doing so, had not Richard Cavendish allowed me to see a letter he has recently received from you and on which I hope you will let me say a few words to you in the full confidence of friendship. 1st. For the Bishop of London's refusal. If Mr. Bennett is to be prevented officiating, no man will regret it more deeply than I should. But there are difficulties in the way: and it is well that they should be met. The ground on which the Bishop of London accepted Mr. Bennett's resignation I understood to be the principle avowed by Mr. Bennett of *continual progression*, combined with an assertion of his right to introduce any ceremony which had ever been used in the Church and which was not expressly condemned and forbidden at our Reformation. This principle I also esteem to be faulty, believing that our system was intended to be affirmative and not simply negative, and that it does not therefore become individual clergymen to restore from ante-Reformation times whatever was not *totidem verbis* forbidden. Now I imagine that the meaning of the Bishop's refusal must be that his objection to this principle continues unabated and that until Mr. Bennett gives him some assurance that he would not resume his ministry on this basis he cannot in any consistency allow it. You will see how different a thing this

is from punishing Mr. Bennett's past faults, be they what they may, by suspending his ministry.

But I very earnestly desire that the Bishop of London should do his utmost to restore Bennett to usefulness in the Church, and I know no more likely mode of securing that good result than that you, for whose judgment I know that he entertains a profound respect, should yourself write fully to him on the subject.

II. Let me say two things touching the rest of your letter. 1. I feel acutely its general truth to a very great extent. But I think that even you have been biassed by the incessant vituperations of the 'Morning Chronicle,' &c., to deal unfairly with many of the Bishops. For you put aside Lord John Russell's miserable appointments and the fearful weakness caused by the character of the Primate and you seem, having done this, to trace all the evil of the loss of influence we ought to possess to ourselves and, as far as I can read your words, you apply this to every Bishop without reservation. Now I believe that I am far from being blind to my own miserable infirmities or to those of my brethren. But is it fair, in such an estimate of our relative state now and at the death of Archbishop Howley, to leave out, first, the weakening of all our just influence by the introduction of such men as Lord John has put amongst us; then of such a primacy; of the prevalence of Radical attacks in the House of Commons, of the silence of so many there, under the most false and scandalous imputations, who are supposed to be ready to answer if there was an answer to be given; of the attacks of the 'Record' on all Church Bishops, of the 'Daily News,' 'Examiner,' 'Morning Herald' on ditto, and of what is perhaps more damaging still, of the habitual sneering depreciation and degrading insinuations of the 'Morning Chronicle' and the faint and contemptuous praises of the 'Guardian?'

I do not believe it possible to overrate the degree in which these causes, wholly external to ourselves, acting on the public mind when it is in a state easily to be moved against all authority, have produced the results at which you point. I feel sure there are amongst us men now who would be far

more ready than most of those before us with whom you seem to contrast us so unfavourably, to stand by our clergy to the very last, instead of falling below the ordinary standard of official or House of Commons fidelity to associates or employés.

I believe that the administration of the Diocese of Salisbury for instance is wholly free from this fault. I do believe that amongst my many faults *I* have never erred in this respect.

Now, highly as I value your good opinion, I do not say this in order to justify myself or others with you ; but only for this practical end : I want you to suggest any mode of action whatever, which can in any way act against these evils, which I feel bitterly, and daily mourn for, and in order to give such counsel, as few could give so well as you, you must have the real state of the case exactly before you.

For this is what I want you to come to : 2. What is to be done, what practically can I do? If I know myself, there is no sacrifice I would not make for the Church's welfare and I do not think that we should very materially differ as to what is for her welfare. But what is to be done with so utterly divided an Episcopate—with such a Primate in so many ways so mischievously good : with such men as are many of my brethren ; what is to be done, but to try to administer the diocese committed to me justly, soberly, lovingly and actively? Now, my dear Gladstone, I ask this of you as a friend whose fidelity and sound judgment and observation I can trust, and believe me I will thank you for any plain-spokenness with which you can say what you think it right to say.

I hope that Murray has sent you, as I desired him, my late charge ; that may, if you have time to read it, suggest to you what is lacking. But I do not feel that such Episcopates as are many of those around me can fairly be considered as the causes of our present troubles, especially when contrasted, as you seem to me to contrast them, with those of their predecessors. I am, my dear Gladstone, ever affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

This was followed by an important letter from Mr. Gladstone,[1] who explained that it was not as ruling their Dioceses that he found fault with the Bishops generally, but as the body which represented the Church in Parliament. He also stated that although he was aware that there were some Bishops who would stand firm to the Church's teaching, yet the great majority including the Archbishop seemed to be utterly indifferent to upholding any dogmatic teaching in the Church. Mr. Gladstone further strengthened his argument, that earnest Churchmen could place no confidence in the Episcopate as a body, by alluding to the imputations, made both in the House of Commons and in Society on the subject of the Bishops' incomes. Mr. Gladstone proposed to visit Cuddesdon and talk the questions which were under discussion fully over. To this letter the Bishop replied as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 2, 1852.

My dear Gladstone,—I thank you very sincerely for your kind letter to me and especially for proposing to let us have the opportunity of a full conversation upon the wide subject it embraces. Tuesday the 20th will suit me perfectly and on that day I shall hope to see you. The *Abingdon Road* Station and the Oxford station of the Great Western are nearly the same distance. The Abingdon Road a little nearer. If you will let me know by what train you will be at either of these stations, I can probably send the carriage to meet you, *Oxford* is your station if you come from Bletchley.

I will not forestall our conversation by anything like a

[1] This letter is not printed because Mr. Gladstone has not at the present time sufficient leisure to consider and prepare the explanatory note which he thinks ought to accompany it.

discussion of the points you make; but I will place before you one or two matters bearing on them and in my judgment qualifying if not invalidating the conclusions to which your view points.

1. As to the question of the Bishops' incomes, &c., it was repeatedly stated in the House of Commons (1) that the Bishops had settled the present plan. (2) That the intention of the plan was to give them fixed incomes of a certain amount. (3) That the scheme had been so framed by the settlers that it was possible, in spite of the arrangement, to get far more. Now *this* belief has eminently weakened the influence of the whole Bench. And it is untrue in every particular. 1st. The plan, bad or good, was adopted not by the present Commission but by the former Commission, on which few Bishops sat; and was notoriously the scheme of the late Lord Harrowby. 2dly. It was stated always that it was *not* considered desirable to fix the Bishops' income at a certain figure, but on the best evidence attainable to fix, as each incumbency began, the sum to be received or paid and to give to the next incumbent the benefit of all improvements. This, too, the late Archbishop stated, was the late Lord Harrowby's recommendation, to make it the pecuniary interest of each incumbent to improve the property for the Church.

The 3rd falls necessarily with these two other charges. Yet this simple answer, as far as I know, was never given in the House of Commons. Certainly such men as Sir B. Hall and Co. were never made to feel it inexpedient for themselves to revive the charge.

But further: under the working of *this* system the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Worcester have made very large gains. I think they were bound in honour not to profit by them.

Under the same system the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, St. Asaph, Ely, delayed for a time paying their quota: their estates being at all times liable and their personal effects in case of their death being liable to make up the deficit. The scheme was a very hard

one for them but I think that they ought to have paid. Still —(1) there was nothing like taking what was not theirs, by the first or (2) evading payment by the latter. Yet—

1. Both of these imputations have been repeatedly made, uncontradicted, in the most offensive language, *e.g.* 'Who but a prelate of the Church would dare to show his face in society after such conduct?' and—

2. From these few cases the charge has been transferred to all the rest of the Bench and no such indignant denials as would make the slanderers start and set people out of doors right have been pronounced: *e.g.* in my own first return I received for the first 3 years something like 1,000*l.* a year less than was intended, yet I never complained: in the last 2 years I received fines which raised the whole average of the 4 years to about 290*l.* a year above the 5,000*l.* Yet all along when I had received too little, and since it has been set right, I have been by name attacked by Sir B. Hall and no one contradicted him.

Once and once only Sir Jas. Graham most kindly, at my request, replied to a like slander about the fitting of this house for the Episcopal residence.

But I did not mean thus to run on and I will not venture to touch on the far deeper subject you produce. I will, God helping me, weigh all you have said on it, and if possible shape the difficulties I see concerning it before we meet.

Will you send me one line as early as you can (1) to say how many days you can give me and let it be all you can? (2) Whether there are any of our Oxford friends you would like to meet at dinner. Our talk must be at other times, so it will not interfere with that; and I am always glad to ask Oxford men over. I am ever, my dear Gladstone, affectly. yours,

S. OXON.

In reply to the invitation contained in the above letter, Mr. Gladstone wrote on January the 5th to fix the 20th as the day on which he would come, and in answer to what the Bishop had said he writes:—

As to the Commission and the Bishops, I think of those of the Durham class a shade more leniently than you. I would not say that as mere public officers they are bound in honour not to profit by the surplus. As successors of the Apostles it seems to me they might have done well to place them at the disposal of the Church in one way or other. But as to the York and Ely class, I am greatly more rigorous than you are. If I am rightly impressed by the terms of the Act, which I have not before me, these Bishops distinctly and deliberately withheld the property of the Church from the Church, both capital and interest, and have never been called upon to pay the interest at all and I am quite certain that no lay State officer could have ventured on such a proceeding. But when I say it is often better in the House of Commons to make no apology than a half apology, I do not push that so far as to say that you as an individual Bishop ought not to be defended as an individual in a case such as you describe; and I am sure that you would have no difficulty in finding persons by the score ready when an occasion offered to make such a statement as that affecting yourself in your letter in reply to such an attack, of which I was not previously aware.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 7, 1852.

My dear Gladstone,—I shall be delighted to receive you and only wish you could stay longer. I will try and think of any men who would be useful. I do not think there can be anything wrong in my showing you in confidence this letter of the Bishop of London. I only *meant* to say about the Bishop of Durham that so very large an excess as 10,000*l.* a year, year by year, was so plainly contrary to the intention of the contract that a nice sense of honour would have dictated some step. I do not feel that they were at all bound to refund small or occasional excesses. None of the principal sum has been withheld, I believe, in the other cases. I am not sure as to the interest. I am affectionately, yours,

S. OXON.

Would it not be well that you should meet the Vice Chancellor and one or two men of that stamp one day—and some masters, such as Woolcombe, another, for your purpose?

Mr. Gladstone came to Cuddesdon on the 20th, and remained two nights. The conversation alluded to in the above letters on the 'deeper subjects' took place. The impression made upon Mr. Gladstone may be gathered from the following, which represented Mr. Gladstone's view of the situation as it appeared to him after the conversation :—

1. By the Gorham Judgment a foundation is laid for emptying of all their force the Articles of the Creed one by one, as public opinion, by successive stages, shall admit and encourage it.

2. Also, for habitual assumption by the State of the office of interpreting the Creed, as well as the other documents of the Church.

3. A minority of the Bishops, including neither of the Archbishops, have protested, each for himself.

4. A minority of the clergy, including perhaps a fourth of the whole number, have protested also, some of them in dioceses or archdeaconries.

5. The Primate has instituted a Priest rejected by his Bishop for false doctrine, declaring that his office was ministerial and contending so to use and discharge it.

6. The Bishop has admitted among his clergy the Priest so instituted.

7. In 1850, after the judgment, a large portion of the Bishops strove for a measure which would have given to the Episcopate the power of deciding any point of doctrine involved in an appeal; opposed, however, by many of their number and not supported by the Primates.

8. In the more favourable of the two Houses of Parliament this Bill was rejected on a second reading by a majority.

9. The Session of 1851 passed away without the renewal of the Bill and without any definite announcement that it

would be reintroduced, or that another measure of like tendency would be substituted for it, at a specified time. Its prospects, bad before, are greatly damaged by this delay.

10. There is not the smallest hope of the united action of the Bishops in seeking hereafter for any such measure; nor any great probability that even a bare majority of them can be got to concur in it.

11. Every rational principle of calculation leads to the conclusion that the tone of the Episcopal Bench with respect to dogma or authoritative teaching will decline, instead of rising, in the course of any period of future years.

12. The character of the English Episcopate and of the Church, so far as the latter is determined by the former, is to be read, not in the isolated acts of a minority and in part only of the personal acts of the majority but much more and mainly in the united acts of the whole body.

13. Of these there have been two, very solemn and considerable. One of them was the address on Papal Aggression with the prayer that temporal penalties might be enforced against the assumption of Diocesan titles and jurisdiction by Prelates of the Roman Church.

14. Another solemn and united act was the Rubrical Declaration of last spring. The world sees that the English Episcopate cannot unite to defend an endangered doctrine of the Church—a doctrine endangered by an instrument that cuts at the whole foundation of doctrine; but can unite to check certain revivals of ceremonial, which are known to tend as a whole to bring our worship a step nearer to that of the Eastern as well as the Roman Church. The world will fairly infer, that the Protestantism of the Church of England, as represented by its living Episcopate, has a rigid and an elastic side. Rigid towards the ancient Church, with which it is continuous and identical. Elastic towards the system which destroys doctrine by destroying authoritative teaching; and that both the particular question of Baptism and the claim of the Church, as against the civil power, to decide or interpret all doctrine, are, in the view of the Episcopate as a body, open questions properly so called.

Deeply moved by Mr. Gladstone's view, feeling also that after the rejection of the Bishop of London's Bill[2] the Church could not hope to obtain redress from Parliament, the Bishop determined on making a renewed effort to obtain the revival of Convocation as a synodical body—a matter in which, not wholly unassisted, but with few helpers,[3] he had for a long time taken an active part.

The Gorham Judgment forcibly brought before many men not only the unsatisfactory character of the tribunal which was the Court of Final Appeal for the Church, but it also pressed home the fact that the Church itself had no power of declaring itself—it was voiceless. In 1851 Lord Redesdale formally moved in the House of Lords for a copy of the petitions presented to Convocation by the clergy and laity of the Province of Canterbury on February 5 of that year. He took this opportunity of urging the revival of Con-

[2] This Bill the Bishop endeavoured to persuade the Bishop of London to reintroduce in 1851. The following letter shows a renewed effort in the beginning of 1852, after the change of Government. The Bill, however, was never reintroduced :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Bishop of London.

Cuddesdon, March 4, 1852.

My dear Lord,—Will you read in confidence this letter of Gladstone's. I hope that you will get an early interview with Lord Derby and arrange the matter with him. The management of the Bill before having devolved entirely on you and he having proposed in your debate to amend it, we stand in the most favourable position for your successful negotiation with him; and you are able further to tell him that you were just on the point of giving notice when he succeeded to power. It does seem *the* moment for a successful move which may never return, and the probable instability of the Government makes speed so specially needful. I write from the midst of an Ordination with 25 candidates, so you will excuse brevity.

[3] Among these ought to be named, without disparagement to other good men, Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone, Canon of Canterbury, and Chaplain to Archbishop Howley; Henry Hoare, founder and president of the Society for the Revival of Convocation; and last, not least, George Anthony Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton.

vocation. Both the Bishop of London and Bishop Wilberforce supported this motion, which was agreed to; but it was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that if Convocation met and debated, dissensions and controversy would be sure to arise.

The course the Bishop took, as recorded below, was not without precedent, an amendment to the Address having been moved and carried in 1847.

On February 4, Convocation met formally, and with a very small attendance. The Bishop presented a petition, the prayer of which was 'that Convocation should address the Crown by petition;' and in presenting it he announced his intention of moving that 'this House do consider the prayer of the petitions,' upon which the Queen's Advocate (Sir J. Dodson) interposed, and said that he felt it to be his duty, as legal adviser to the Archbishop, to declare that such a motion was without precedent. For the past 135 years the Crown had called Convocation together purely as a matter of form, but had not permitted it to act. He then quoted in support of his argument the statute (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19), which prohibited Convocation doing business without the express sanction of the Crown. The Bishop of Exeter differed from this view; business, he explained, was making Canons, not petitioning the Crown. Bishop Wilberforce then stated that the motion he intended to make was not of a general but of a particular nature. Notice had been given of the introduction of a Bill into Parliament dealing with Clergy Discipline, and he thought this was a matter on which the Clergy ought to be consulted. Three of the Bishops present agreed—the Bishops of London, Exeter, and Chichester. Three

dissented, on the ground that such a small number of Bishops were present, the reason for such a scanty attendance being, that the majority of the Bishops supposed that this meeting was only one of the ordinary ones, *i.e.* meeting in order to be prorogued. This view being admitted as correct, Bishop Wilberforce pressed on the Archbishop the necessity of proroguing to a definite and not very distant period. The Archbishop then declared that in his opinion it was most improper that Convocation should in any way place itself in hostility to the Government, and prorogued the meeting till August 19. The Bishop then gave notice that on that day he should repeat his motion.

The following letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce gives the Bishop's account of this meeting :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Feb. 6th, 1852.

My beloved Brother,—We had a curious time of it. After presenting the petition, I rose to propose an address. The Archbishop tried to stop me. Dodson referred to; was it illegal? Long argument, at last Dodson obliged to allow that it was not illegal. I proceeded to argue for it, an address to the Queen for a license for Convocation to discuss a Clergy Discipline Bill. Bishops of London Chichester Exeter supported me, St. Asaph and Winchester opposed: the Archbishop would not agree to its being put: Bishop of Winton supplying as a reason that he had not been forewarned, he would prorogue, so I gave notice of it for next time. The lower House brought up their address and after a great struggle with Dodson-cum-precedent, they being sent down, the address was received and read and we adjourned. Still a very distinct step has been taken and it will come to more. God bless you, my dear, dear Brother. I am ever in true affection, your loving brother,

S. OXON.

Before August 19 political changes took place which must be noticed. On February 20 Lord John Russell's Government, which had been in office for five years and a half, was beaten in the House of Commons by a majority of nine on a clause in the Militia Bill. The resignation of the Ministry was announced on February 23, and Lord Derby came into office. On July 1 Parliament was dissolved, and with it Convocation. The elections of Proctors for the new Convocation were held in August. On October 18 a notification appeared in 'The Times,' to the effect that Lord Derby had advised the Crown to issue license permitting Convocation to resume its synodical functions. Before referring to the meeting of Convocation, it is necessary to go back a little to show the difficulties which had to be encountered and overcome—difficulties from both supporters and adversaries—the necessity of restraining the zeal of one side and pacifying the undisguised hostility of the other, either of which would infallibly have shipwrecked this revival in its infancy. How the Bishop finally overcame all obstacles and recovered for Convocation some of the powers which had fallen into desuetude during the 135 years of its silence, will be shown in these pages.

The following letters bear on one of the first difficulties to be overcome, namely, the chance of a collision with the Archbishop as to the appointment of a Prolocutor of the Lower House. A meeting was convened to meet at Swindon to select the person the Lower House should name to the Archbishop for the office.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Thorp.

Lavington, September 11, 1852.

My dear Archdeacon,—I am strongly of opinion that it is desirable to obtain as much unity of action as possible, between all who are united by the great principle of restoring her synodical action to the Church in England, at the approaching opening of Convocation; and I have no doubt that preliminary discussion and agreement are essential requisites for this result. I cannot therefore avoid giving you my opinion as to the matter as to which you are so kind as to ask it. But I cannot enter on the consideration of who would be the best candidate for the office of prolocutor, without first considering whether there ought to be any opposition to the Archbishop's 'recommendation.' There can I apprehend, be no question as to the right of the Lower House to elect, or of the Upper to refuse to confirm the election of a Prolocutor. Now, the chiefest scandal which could be put as a stumbling-block at the opening of our path, would be anything which seemed with our first awakening out of sleep to revive the quarrels which preceded our long hybernation. Yet this would be the too probable result of a throwing over the Archbishop's recommendation. For he has long precedent on the side of giving it: and suppose that, he having given it, the Lower House elected another, I think it very probable that a majority of the Upper House would side with him in refusing to confirm the election, and therefore we should be at once in all the scandal of a breach between the two Houses. Now I do not say that so palpably bad a recommendation might not be made, as would warrant the incurring even this risk: but I think it certainly ought not to be incurred, until every other means has been tried to secure a good election. I am ever very sincerely yours,

S. Oxon.

This letter was read to the meeting. Archdeacon Denison, writing to the Bishop the next day, says:—

I am charged to convey to your Lordship, on the part of all those present, our best thanks for the very kind, full and clear explanation of the course which it appears to you to be desirable to take at our public meeting in November next, and also to express our entire concurrence in that course both in respect of the question of the Prolocutor, and of the matter and manner of our proceedings.

After some correspondence, it was agreed that the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely (Dr. Peacock) should be nominated by the Lower House at its meeting, to the Archbishop as a fit and proper person to fill the office of Prolocutor. The following letter to the Archbishop, with the answer, shows that the Bishop secured the friendly assistance of the Bishop of Winchester in order to obtain this appointment :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Oct. 25, 1852.

My dear Lord,—I was some time since applied to by a considerable number of clergymen, Archdeacons and Canons to give them my advice upon their conduct on some particulars at the approaching meeting of Convocation. One of these points was the appointment of a prolocutor for the Lower House. They stated in their scheme that they could not acquiesce in the nomination of one who would use his office to defeat all real action in the Synod, and anticipating the possibility of such a recommendation, they contemplated bringing forward a candidate of their own. I counselled them instead of this to communicate in some mode their wishes to your Grace, in order to learn, 1st, whether some person of so fair a temper could not be chosen so that your Grace might conscientiously recommend him and they conscientiously accept him, or 2ndly, whether your Grace might be pleased to leave the free election with recommendation (which recommendation has been rather the exception than the rule) to the House. In either of

which cases a collision which I deprecated, might be avoided. They acquiesced in my advice and requested me to communicate with your Grace. I thought it might be easier to do this in conversation than by letter and fearing that I had no chance of seeing your Grace before Parliament met and being at Farnham Castle, I talked the matter over with the Bishop of Winchester and he promised to communicate with your Grace. I am, my dear Lord, your dutiful and affectionate

S. OXON.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Oxford.

Oct. 28, 1852.

My dear Lord,—Among the instructions concerning Convocation which I received, it was said that the Archbishop names a Prolocutor. After advising with the Bishops of London and Winchester, I have obtained the consent of the Dean of Ely to be so named. But I have no idea of disputing the question if the Lower House claim the privilege of appointing without reference to the Archbishop. I am faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. B. CANTUAR.

The next point which engaged the Bishop's attention was, what business should be attempted by Convocation; since the last meeting counsel's opinion had been obtained as to the legality of the Archbishop proroguing 'sine consensu fratrum,' and as to the extent of the restraining statute of Henry VIII. The counsel engaged were the Attorney-General Sir F. Thesiger, Sir William Page Wood, and Dr. Phillimore. With but slight differences they concurred in the view taken by the Bishop of Exeter, that Convocation could transact business but could not make or alter Canons. On the question as to what subjects should be brought before Convocation, the Bishop consulted with Mr. Gladstone, who, writing on September 12, says:—

You have I suppose, two months yet to consider of your course. You occupy indeed a most difficult and a most responsible post: so much depends upon the first form in which a question of this kind opens. The last motion about Clergy Discipline[4] was I thought, exceedingly well chosen; it presented a broad ground to friends, yet a narrow front to foes, it was perfect. Whatever is done, may it contribute to the solution in God's good time of the formidable difficulties encompassing the Church.

The Bishop's proposal appears in the following letters:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, Sept. 18, 1852.

My dear Gladstone,—The line which at present appears to me wisest as to Convocation is to address the Queen: 1. To appoint a Commission to inquire and report on the alterations, &c. needful to make the Convocations of the two Provinces act most perfectly as a Synod, so as to be the most perfectly 'the Church of England by representation,' and cause the report of such Commission to be laid before the Convocation of Canterbury with her license to debate and act thereupon.

2. To address Her Majesty praying that no alterations be made in the capitular bodies until the subject has been discussed and resolved on by Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. I think you will see, without my stating them, all the reasons for this course. Will you give me your judgment on it?

To this letter Mr. Gladstone replied on October 3.

[4] *Vide* p. 137.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—The question you put with regard to your projected course in Convocation is a very large one, and it is one on which I am scarcely in a position to enter so as to do it any justice; for the present therefore, I shall confine myself to the function of finding fault, that amiable duty ever so pleasing to humanity.

Why should the Reform of Convocation be considered by a Commission rather than by the two Houses themselves acting in concert by delegations, joint committee or whatever be most in form? I do not like the idea that the assembled clergy should give their countenance to a form of proceeding which is at the very best but half constitutional and which may become in circumstances not remote extremely dangerous.

It is true that the time may not have come, probably has not come, for granting either the one prayer or the other. Still I assume your assent to the proposition that it is best to set out with the request which will be the likeliest to be granted when the time of ripeness comes. I cannot but feel in passing, how much your ground would be strengthened in this matter by your being also engaged in the support of a generous proposal with respect to church rates. The settlement of that question is *one indispensable preliminary*, in my belief, to real progress in regard to Church government. (To resume.) Again, your second prayer would bring you into direct collision with the apparent intention of Government. I do not approve of that intention. It is the natural and normal expedient of a weak administration, though no doubt meant well. Unless it be that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, a public body, have now become partners in the Chapters—a kind of dodge which perhaps may have gone far enough to sustain the case—I cannot well distinguish between this and the University Commissions. But Goulburn has agreed to serve; S. Herbert may, and I conclude Government

have not moved without sanction from other Bishops besides Lambeth; if so you would have them to encounter. And besides, I should be very sorry that when laying the ground for asking what the world and the State would call a boon, you should combine with it a protest savouring, or at any rate sure to be thought to savour, of jealousy. Would it be possible to frame a motion in this sense: (a) in very general terms to pray the Crown to take the counsel of its Bishops and Clergy in regard to further Cathedral legislation; (b) to pray that whatever was done and whatever revenues might be left to the Cathedrals, they might be applied strictly to the pursuit of positive spiritual and ecclesiastical duties in connection with those establishments? I remain in haste my dear Bishop of Oxford, affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Oct. 8, 1852.

My dear Gladstone,—Many thanks for your letter of the 3rd. The reasons *for* a Commission on Convocation all run up into the greater probability of our in that way getting synodical action, from its removing objections felt by the laity and the Crown to the immediate acting of a clerical Parliament.

But I feel great force in your objection and must weigh it longer before I decide on it. *The* way in which I should wish to see Convocation move, is by appointing committees to consider whether it is not desirable to address the Crown for a license to confer and conclude on the expediency of some, and what, reforms in its own body. For this action we should need no license beyond our first and we might in this safely try our strength—but to this safe mode of acting I fear that the Archbishop's power, or claim of power, of proroguing will be a fatal bar. I am far from clear that he possesses the power of proroguing without the consent of his suffragans and

am endeavouring to work out that power ; but I am clear we ought not to begin by asking any government for a license, so long as we can act as a deliberative body without making such a request. If you can throw any light hereon pray do. What you say about the Government Commission on capitular bodies compels me in honesty to say more, though it must be in the strictest confidence. I had not thought of such a motion as implied any suspicion of that movement : rather I should have wished and I think it possible, so to word it, as to approve of that Commission as partly preparing matters to be submitted first to Convocation and then to Parliament. For I approve of the Commission. Mr. Walpole some time ago opened negotiations with me on the subject and I expressed to him my approval of it if, (1) the objects of the Commission were *bonâ fide* to enquire how Chapters could best be made to do their original duties and, (2) the Commission was so nominated as to give it the confidence of the Church. This led to free communication between us and if the Cabinet approve of the scheme of objects and of the persons as agreed between us, I have agreed myself to act on the Commission. I *trust* that Herbert will also. I hope that you will not think I have acted unwisely in all this. I longed to ask your advice but it was a matter of confidence and I should now not have felt I could say even this much had you not known of Goulburn's acceptance of the offer to S. Herbert. I entertain strong hopes on the church-rate question. Some members of the Government are decidedly with us on it. I am ever yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

The above letters show the course which the Bishop thought ought to be followed. He feared that if other questions were raised the whole movement might be embarrassed. The grounds of this alarm were that in July a petition to both Houses of Convocation on the Education question and the 'Management Clauses' had been drawn up and signed by some of the most influential of the clergy and laity. Among the many

signatories it is enough to give the names of Archdeacon Denison, Mr. Keble, Dr. Pusey, Lord Nelson, and Mr. Beresford Hope. After a long correspondence with Archdeacon Denison, the Bishop obtained a great modification in the terms of the petition. As a matter of history, the petition was introduced into the Lower House by the Rev. Dr. Spry as a representation, and formally referred to a select committee, which never reported. By arguments and by persuasion the Bishop induced the Archbishop to declare that he would not allow any petition to be presented which did not bear on Convocation itself. Thus the difficulties from friends were overcome, and it only remains to show how strong the feeling against the movement was by the following quotations from the leading journal, and by a public letter from one of its well-known correspondents.[5]

In 'The Times' of October 23 appeared a short article stating that Convocation was to meet on November 5; that before it could sit it was necessary that the consent of the Crown, Premier, and Archbishop should be obtained. The article then stated that though Lord Derby was known to be favourable, yet the Archbishop was known not to have the same view; and that a rumour prevailed in well-informed circles that Her Majesty agreed with the Archbishop. The article concluded by saying: 'In this case it will be impossible for either House of Convocation on its meeting to proceed with anything beyond the consideration of those formal matters to which its attention has hitherto been confined.' On the 25th 'The Times' published a contradiction to what had been stated in

[5] The Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, whose familiar initials, S. G. O., were at this time of frequent occurrence in 'The Times.' The Bishop once playfully remarked that E. G. O. would be an improvement.

some journals, viz. that Convocation was to have license to sit; and in the same number, in a leading article, said: 'The moment the attention of the public was directed to the thing as a scheme within the bounds of possibility, all hope of its success was at an end; and we hope this warning will suffice to prevent any surprise in the choice of Proctors or any other clandestine movements for the future.' On the following day a letter in large type from the correspondent above referred to appeared in the same journal, which, after describing humorously the way the Proctors had been elected by himself and brother electors, continued:

> Your paper to-day has the official contradiction of the mischievous report that Convocation is to be licensed. I am ready *privately* to give you chapter and verse to prove that one of the ultra Bishops, who but very lately thrust his advocacy of Lord Derby's merits on the Oxford University constituency, within *these few days* assured some of his clergy *that, without doubt, the Queen won't allow it.* The real fact is, public opinion has been sounded, the laity had already, though incredulous of the folly, growled sufficiently loud on the subject to satisfy Lord Derby it would not do. It was an unrighteous plot, the zeal of the conspirators overshot their mark, they mistook the national character, they thought long endurance from the party that would unprotestantise the Church arose from apathy on the subject, they now find John Bull may be content to bear with the folly he despises, but that he won't submit to incur dangers he knows to be real.

The Bishop called on the writer to give up the authority for stating that he (the Bishop) had made any statement as to the Queen's wishes. It appears by the correspondence that the authority for this statement was wholly inaccurate, and it was corrected as publicly as it was made. In the course of the cor-

respondence the charges so often made by men of the extreme Low Church school of being a Romanizer, encouraging confession, and the like, were brought forward, and denied by the Bishop; but a fragment of one of this writer's last letters must be quoted to explain the Bishop's reply.

I am glad to hear that you are with myself opposed to the Romanizing party in the Church, but persons tell me of intoning and other histrionic practices in your diocese.

The Bishop's answer was:

I do not like sending this without saying that in telling you I had opposed warmly the system of confession, and the whole system of the Romanizers, I did not include that Cathedral service of the Church of England in which, as Dean and Canon, it has been my duty to take part and which I imagine you to mean by intoning; and as to what you term other histrionic practices, until I know what you consider histrionic, I can form no judgment about it. The reading prayers in the surplice is an eminently histrionic practice in some eyes. What I did mean to say was, that I belonged to the school of the old Church of England and had done all I could, alike against Puritan sourness and Romanizing superstition.

The Chancellorship of the University of Oxford became vacant on September 14 by the death of the Duke of Wellington. The Duke of Newcastle had been invited some time previously to allow his name to be put forward as a candidate should a vacancy occur. On September 17 a meeting was held of his friends, the Bishop in the chair, of which the following letter gives an account:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Duke of Newcastle.

Cuddesdon Palace, Sep. 17, 1852.

My dear Duke of Newcastle,—I have just returned from a meeting of the resident members of Convocation, the doings of which I write to communicate in strict confidence to you. It met at Oriel Common Room and consisted of those members of Convocation generally who were most anxious to see you succeed the Duke of Wellington as our Chancellor. The subject was fully discussed and the opinion of the majority was, in spite of their wishes, that it would be wrong under present circumstances to the Church, the University and yourself, to ask you to come forward. Of this opinion I was and declared myself to be. The grounds of it were simply these. We learned that all the Heads of the Houses now in Oxford met yesterday and resolved to bring Lord Derby forward and that a paper inviting him to stand was actually signed by them, including Dr. Routh. Our question then was, not in the abstract, whom we should most wish to have: but, should we propose you as the competitor of Lord Derby? My full conviction and that of well-nigh all was, that if we did, we could not carry you. The mass of the country clergy would look at it simply as an attack on the Conservative Government and vote against us. Lord Derby would be brought in as the Low Church candidate; the whole effect of Gladstone's contest and success would be lost. The University would be held to have corrected its judgment and we should have damaged a great cause here, secured another contest for Gladstone and injured you. Under these circumstances seventeen voted that 'under present circumstances it was not expedient to bring forward any other candidate as an opponent of Lord Derby.' Two voted against this resolution. Five, including myself as Chairman, did not vote at all. I will not disguise from you what you will readily believe, that knowing as I do your character, trusting your Church principles and agreeing with you generally in political views, I reached my conclusion of

our duty with much pain. I am, my dear Duke of Newcastle, very sincerely yours,

S. Oxon.

The next day, writing to Mr. Gladstone, the Bishop says :—

I have been in great difficulties about the Chancellorship of the University and the Duke of Newcastle; I should far prefer him but I am convinced we could not carry him and by starting him may bring in Harrowby or Shaftesbury. I have therefore advised that we do not oppose Lord Derby who may I think, be brought in unanimously. It rather comforted me to remember the way you spoke on this subject when here.

Mr. Gladstone agreed with the Bishop that the Duke would have been the better appointment, though he was satisfied with the choice of Lord Derby, his only fear being that Lord Derby might fall into the hands of an obstruction party.

The Duke entirely agreed with the advice which the Bishop gave on this matter ; as although he would not have objected to a single combat with Lord Derby, he was fully conscious that, had there been a contest, in all probability a third man would be brought forward. He said, replying to the Bishop's letter of September 17 :—

'For the sake of the Church I shall rejoice that no new element of discord and bitterness is produced by a contest involving all the malignity and foul misrepresentation which characterized *one* party in the late struggle for the representation in Parliament.'

Writing to Archdeacon Wilberforce on September 22, the Bishop says :—

You may have seen that I agreed to the inexpediency of

our friends bringing forward the Duke of Newcastle against Lord Derby for our Chancellor. Abstractedly I should greatly have preferred him, but I am convinced we could not have carried him ; and being beaten should either have seen Lord Derby brought in by the Low Church and thrown into their arms or a third man step in. I suppose that the 'Morning Chronicle' will be very wrath with me for it.'

The following letter shows who the friends of the movement were in the Cabinet, and it furnishes a contradiction to one of the many rumours that were afloat, that Convocation was made a Cabinet question. Certainly the Cabinet was never consulted on the matter up to the meeting of Convocation on November 5 :

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Sept 22nd, 1852.

My beloved Brother,—. . . . I had a satisfactory Ordination. . . . Not one Low Churchman in the set. What a remarkable feature this is in our present state and how very full of hope. (*Confidential.*)—I had an interview with Walpole, at his desire on Monday, about Church matters and I pressed strongly on him, and not without impression, the present aspect of the Convocation question. It is refreshing to have men in Government with a soul and a conscience. I suppose you have seen H. Exeter's furious philippic against the church rate scheme ? If not, I will send it you with one or two others, if you care to see them. In strict confidence, I may say to you that Lord Derby and Walpole are for the scheme. The Cabinet not yet consulted.

The following letter, written just before the meeting, marks the course the Bishop ultimately decided upon. The fears expressed in the letter were not realised, as is shown by the sequel.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Nov. 10th, 1852.

My dearest Brother,—I am going to move for appointing at once Committees of both Houses on the Clergy Discipline Bill and *then* hereafter to ask for license, &c. But I expect that we shall be beat in both Houses; so vigorous has been the whip; every sleepy Dean and every aspiring Archdeacon having been whipped up to send his proxy, when he cannot attend, to support the Archbishop. In my opinion, his Grace has almost as effectually done our great work of proceeding gradually to revive our synodical action, by thus making the struggle real, as if he had let the Committee sit. May God bless all for the Church's good and His Glory! I am, with great love, your most affectionate

S. OXON.

Convocation met formally on November 5. The Lower House elected its Prolocutor, and adjourned to November 12. On that day it met for the despatch of business for the first time for 135 years. In the Upper House, besides the Archbishop, there were sixteen Bishops. In the Lower House between eighty and ninety Proctors attended. The account of the proceedings in the Upper House is summarised from Mr. Warren's 'Synodalia.' After some petitions had been presented, the House proceeded to consider an address to the Crown. To the draft proposed by the President the Bishop of Oxford moved an amendment.

After consultation, the Archbishop proposed to his suffragans that, on its rising, Convocation should be continued to the next Tuesday, and the debate on the address then resumed, and with the consent of the Bishops it was so determined.

On Tuesday, November 16, the debate upon the address was resumed. The Bishop of Oxford with-

drew his amendment in favour of one proposed by the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Denison), and inserted a clause in the draft address. He further moved for a Committee to consider an address to Her Majesty on the subject of Clergy Discipline, and to report to Convocation. This was carried and a Committee appointed.

On Wednesday the 17th, after some formal business had been transacted, Convocation was adjourned till February 16, 1853.

It is much to be regretted that the above bare outline should be the only record of this first meeting. Reporters were excluded from the Upper House and so the speech made by the Bishop is lost. Its nature and power may be deduced from its effects which were to convince the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Kaye), to carry unanimously the draft address to the Crown and to obtain the Committee on Clergy Discipline.

The Bishop's energy, tact and eloquence were rewarded by tokens of approaching success in the work to which since 1840 he had devoted himself and of returning vitality in the Church's Convocation which for nearly a century and a half had been little more than a legal fiction.

It is right to mention in this place that the Bishop derived great assistance from his lay co-adjutor Mr. Henry Hoare, who worked heartily with him for the restoration of Convocation. The Bishop's energy never flagged until he had won back step by step nearly all the powers Convocation had lost. How this was done will be shown in the sequel. The diaries of 1853, 1854 and 1855 tell their own tale. But the struggle was long and laborious. Not before the last of the above-mentioned years was the first real

advance made and it was not till 1860 that the second, the obtaining a Royal Letter authorising the transaction of business, was accomplished.

In the earlier part of his task the Bishop had moreover to contend against the hostility of the Cabinet. Of the members of the Government only Lord Derby and Mr. Walpole certainly were of opinion that Convocation was not a sleeping or dead body, yet they thought it should be only called into action on specific subjects of vital importance to the Church. Their answers to questions in both Houses of Parliament showed that the Government was not prepared to sanction the revival of Convocation as a Church Parliament for the discussion of general subjects.

Before leaving this subject, the following extract from a letter written on December 29 to Archdeacon Wilberforce is inserted to show the pains the Bishop took in keeping discussion on the subject out of the newspapers. Some injudicious friends, delighted with what had been done, were desirous of proclaiming their triumph by newspaper articles. Such a course the Bishop saw would be fatal to the movement.

I think I never told you that the silence as to which you marvelled touching Convocation was in the 'John Bull,' 'Guardian,' and 'Morning Chronicle,' my doing, to keep all asleep as long as we could act. It has been hard work keeping the gag in ——'s mouth, as doubtless you who know him so well will agree.'

On December 16 Lord Derby's Government fell. On Sunday the 19th, Lord Aberdeen, in obedience to the Queen's command, went to Osborne. Mr. Gordon having communicated this, the Bishop writes as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Dec. 20, 1852.

My dear Mr. Gordon,—. . . I have to my closest intimates for six months past said that it seemed to me, humanly speaking, that the security of the Church and the throne turned on whether the Queen got Lord Aberdeen or one of the other chiefs of the mere Whig party as her Prime Minister on the certain fall of Lord Derby's Government. I will, God helping me, make it my daily prayer that he may be strengthened for this great sacrifice he is making and guided in all his ways. Will you, if you find a spare moment, say to Lord Aberdeen in one word what I feel on the matter? I am most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The following letter further illustrates the Bishop's opinion on the political situation :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Dec. 21st, 1852.

My dearest Brother,—My Ordination was a very interesting one. So many thoroughly good men in all ways. It certainly is most encouraging to see *many* of the men who come to me, and the Church must be wonderfully altering if my Ordinations are any sort of sample. So our friends are in at last. Though I am greatly grieved that Lord Derby's not resigning and re-forming when the voice of the nation was manifestly against Protection, seems to drive them into the foul arms of the Whigs as allies. In some respects, however, such an alliance may work well for the Church, if our people are the head, as they are at present. The popishly-inclined —Puseyite—Presbyterian—as I think the 'Record' called Lord Aberdeen, being head. . . I am ever your most loving brother,

S. OXON.

CHAPTER V.

(1853.)

MR. GLADSTONE'S ELECTION FOR OXFORD—LETTERS TO PRINCE ALBERT AND MR. GLADSTONE—CONVOCATION—DIFFICULTIES ON EVERY SIDE—LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GORDON—CONVERSATIONS WITH PRINCE ALBERT AND BARON STOCKMAR ON CONVOCATION—HOUSE OF MERCY AT CLEWER—LETTER TO DR. PUSEY—IMPORTANT CONVERSATION ON CONVOCATION—OPPOSITION IN THE HIGHEST QUARTERS—THE BISHOP ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE BRIBE OF PATRONAGE—CANADA CLERGY RESERVES—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH—LORD DERBY'S ATTACK—BARON STOCKMAR'S OPINION—COLONIAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT BILL THROWN OUT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP ON CONVOCATION—THE ARCHBISHOP'S DISAPPROVAL—CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR J. STEPHEN—PROFESSOR MAURICE—THE BISHOP'S EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION—LETTER TO MAURICE—CONDITIONS OF THE WORLD TO COME—DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF KING'S COLLEGE—LETTERS TO MR. GLADSTONE, BISHOP OF LONDON, AND PROFESSOR PLUMPTRE—ATTACK OF THE 'RECORD'—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP TO THE EDITOR—CONVERSATION WITH DR. DÖLLINGER—RIDE WITH MR. CARLYLE.

Jan. 1.[1]—Early service at 7.30. I preached without notes on Acts i. 7. The times and seasons in the Father's hands;—we receiving power, the natural and loving check to a fearful curiosity about the future. Administered to 46, amongst them most of my own family.

Jan. 2 (Sunday).—I preached at morning service at Cuddesdon and administered with Hobhouse and Pott; a good attendance again, making 125 this Christmas. I trust that there has indeed, of God's goodness, been a marked improvement in the state of this village during the last 7 years.

[1] Paragraphs beginning in this way are extracts from the Bishop's diary—in some instances it is so stated in the text—in others these extracts are inserted without introduction. The reader may take it for granted that where a paragraph occurs beginning with a date it is an extract from the Bishop's diary.

Jan. 7.—Rode with the boys and A. Gordon ;[2] had much talk with him as to Lord Aberdeen's views on Convocation ; fearful about it. Wishes to see me, and arrange terms if possible.

The following entry and letters refer to Mr. Gladstone's candidature for the University of Oxford ; who, having accepted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Coalition Ministry (of which Lord Aberdeen was Premier), had to seek re-election. The Marquis of Chandos having refused to contest the seat, Mr. Dudley Perceval was at the last moment brought forward ; he was proposed by Archdeacon Denison and the opposition was based on Mr. Gladstone's recent votes on ecclesiastical questions. As will be seen, the Bishop was a warm supporter of Mr. Gladstone's candidature.

Jan. 8.—Gladstone's majority increased. Marvellous to say, Bennett, after all Gladstone's self-devotion, came up from Frome to vote against him. Such is man ! Heard from and wrote to the Prince, telling him openly the feeling about Lord John Russell.

The Bishop of Oxford to H.R.H. Prince Albert.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 8, 1853.

Sir,—I feel deeply the degradation of my university in this disgraceful contest. But your Royal Highness will allow me to say (1) That in the minds of the vast majority of the resident members, there is not a shadow of hesitation as to

[2] The Hon. A. Gordon, private secretary to his father Lord Aberdeen.

Mr. Gordon wishes me to state, that the term 'private secretary' is far from conveying any idea of the relations of confidence which existed between him and his father. For many years neither of them received a letter which the other did not see, and it may be safely assumed that Lord Aberdeen was fully cognizant of the substance of every letter written by him.—ED.

supporting Mr. Gladstone on the highest grounds. (2) That the opposition from the country is to be traced, I verily believe, to one strong feeling, which the Carlton Club has worked upon with considerable skill. Mr. Gladstone's old supporters would have borne from him anything except a union with Lord John Russell, who has unfortunately concentrated in himself a most unusual amount of distrust and indignation by his conduct, or supposed conduct, in administering the patronage of the Crown.

On the same day he writes to Mr. Gladstone, enclosing the then state of the poll: Gladstone, 468. Perceval, 412.[3]

I cannot forbear sending you one line to say that I breathe again now that I hope that my University may escape the degradation which, the day before yesterday, seemed to threaten us. For you, I cannot doubt that, with the distinction you have been able to achieve for yourself, it would be far better to be in another seat than in one the electors to which are liable to be swayed by the crazy arrogance of such a man as . . . I can forgive even your brother voting against you; but after your fearless notices on the eve of an election, all the unpopularity of your anti-Horsman labours *in re* Frome, I do *not* know how to forgive Bennett. Succeeding or defeated, may God bless you, my dear friend. I am, ever yours very affectionately,

S. Oxon.

The following letter best explains the reasons for the Bishop's strenuous efforts on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, apart from his feeling of friendship.

[3] The poll was closed on January 20 (having been open for fifteen days) with a majority of 124 for Mr. Gladstone.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Dr. Farley.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 10, 1853.

My dear Dr. Farley,—Your uniform kindness to me leads me to venture to address a few words to you, which I beg you to treat as most strictly confidential, on a very delicate subject. It was mentioned to me that our common friend Dr. Faussett had pressed you to vote against Mr. Gladstone. Now I should not speak to you on such a subject because Mr. Gladstone is my dear and intimate friend, nor on any merely political ground but, knowing that with you, as with me, the interests of our apostolic Church are above all other considerations, I venture to say to you that, knowing a great deal of the interior of things in this last change, I am persuaded, (1) that Mr. Gladstone would have preferred a union with others; (2) that they and not he, made that union impossible; (3) that his serving and the serving of his friends in this Government is from the purest and highest motive of serving the Sovereign and the Church, and (4) that the interests of our Church are as deeply involved in maintaining him in power as they can be in any such human event.

Mr. Perceval's *real* supporters are the *ultra* Low-Churchmen who, through the National Club, sent round the circulars to stir up our churchwardens against the clergy and led to the 'Letter-to-the-Bishop-of-Durham' excitement against our Church. Under these convictions, I would venture, in spite of their counsel, to hope that your vote would be for Mr. Gladstone. I am, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

Jan. 11.—Letter from A. Gordon, utterly dispiriting, about Lord Aberdeen's views on Convocation. I am to see him on Friday thereon. Prayed earnestly, and hope to do so daily, for wisdom, faithfulness, courage and persuasiveness to argue the high cause of attempting to put the Church on a more liberal and real footing with him. Miserere mei Domine, and give me strength.

The letter was as follows :—

On my arrival in town I was concerned to find that the opposition to Mr. Gladstone, the visit to Windsor and, as I cannot but suppose, a conversation with Lord John—have combined to diminish the favour with which my father was once disposed to regard the Convocation movement but which has certainly been on the wane for the last few months. We walked up as usual from the office to Argyll House. I began business by saying that you were to be in town on Thursday but that you had expressed your willingness to come up for the promised interview on any day he might name. He hurriedly replied, 'But can I see him? ought I? I can't enter into his views, you know. I can't allow them to sit.' I observed that he himself had invited the interview and could not well now refuse to hear your arguments. 'Very well, very well, but it can't go on, it must be stopped, I tell you.' I remarked that I had no reason to believe you desired a long session but that any *direct* attempt on the part of the Crown to 'stop' it would be a novel proceeding, and would irritate all parties. 'I like your "novel proceeding," is it not a novel proceeding on their part to hold any but merely formal meetings? Does not this make it high time for novel proceedings on our side? Do you think I am going to tolerate them by a side wind because the Archbishop is a poor, vain, weak, silly creature who they can bully with impunity?'

After a considerable pause, he added in a different manner, 'Will they consent to be prorogued on the 16th?' I replied that you had an address ready or nearly ready and I believed you did not at present wish to go any further, but that of course it was impossible to say how long the debate might last. 'Very well, they may talk till midnight on the 16th if they like and pass the address if they can, but they must not adjourn again. As it is already, I have had great difficulty in keeping down a clerical opposition and have only succeeded by saying that Convocation would be content with one more meeting.'

Yesterday, whilst walking together, I resumed the conversation by saying, 'You spoke yesterday of a clerical opposition to Convocation. I suppose you have taken means to ascertain that it is a *bonâ fide* opposition and not the act of some factious individuals?' 'By no means;—Montagu Villiers is to be the mouthpiece of the party; he was to get up and protest against business being done, and call for the interposition of the Crown, and then, whatever happened, the scandal would be great; but, as I told you, I have warded that off for one day.'

After a little while he went on, 'They never could stand for a day. The country is dead against them, so are half the clergy;—and I don't see *what* they want;—any Bishop can bring in a Bill, and if he thinks the assent of the clergy requisite, an informal meeting of delegates would represent them far better than Convocation. They would only hasten the inevitable smash. Your friend is right who says the Church of England is *two* Churches only held together by external forces. This unnatural apparent union cannot last long, but we may as well defer the separation as long as possible.'

The Bishop's answer is as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Jan. 11, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I must not disguise from you the pain which your letter has given me: the more acute, the more earnest my desire to support with all my power the Government of your father. I am, however, sincerely thankful to him for giving me an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject, and, with the prayer which, since you asked me to do so, I have constantly offered for him, I shall join this new subject of petition. I greatly trust that I may at least show him that my view is no wild or exaggerated notion, and that it is not advocated in a bigoted or arrogant tone, or aims

at establishing any impossible priestly supremacy. I am, ever very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

Jan. 14.—To London with Bishop Blomfield, arranging thoughts for Lord Aberdeen, and much in prayer. Pleaded the cause as well as I could, on largest grounds. Lord Aberdeen *evidently* hampered by his Cabinet, but meaning well and fairly. Think we may in this agree. Off to Cuddesdon, and wrote to the Archbishop.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rail, Jan. 14, 1853.

My dear Lord,—I was so long with Lord Aberdeen that I had not an instant in which to get to you. The substance of his conversation was this :—

I. He admitted as logically true and as manifest common sense, the Church's claim, in the abstract, to internal self-government.

II. That the solemn summoning of a silent Convocation was a great unreality ; *but*

III. He urged that it had been so for 150 years, and that any change must be made deliberately and with the assent of enlightened public opinion.

IV. That we had this time made a great step ; that, if we could bring that step to a safe and prosperous conclusion, we should have made *a second.*

V. That to secure this end we ought to avoid any hostile conclusion ; that it would be most undesirable for us to have the new Cabinet forced to consider as a Cabinet question the revival of Convocation ; that this *would* be forced on by questions in Parliament or direct motions if we adjourned for further business on the 16th ; that anything we could *complete* on the 16th he thought we might do safely.

Further, he said he *thought* that an Address to the Crown would be an unwise mode of proceeding because it would require an answer. He thought that a Resolution of both

Houses would be the better course, which might be founded on the report of our Committee. Further, that it would be better for us to agree to *heads* (which should be included in a Bill which you, *e.g.*, might introduce into Parliament), rather than to the Bill *in extenso*; because in case we actually drew up the Bill and placed it *in extenso* in the Report, there would be more room for the charge of having sought to *legislate* without license being brought against us.

If you agree with me in thinking that we ought to adopt these suggestions, I think our practical course should be this: That you should call together the Committee of Bishops at the earliest possible day, in order that we may 'determine on the course to be taken in discussing the heads of the proposed Bill with the Committee of the Lower House.'

It is of such moment that we should be thoroughly prepared with our own plans that I should be very glad if you would send at once a few lines summoning us on Thursday next at one, if that day is open to you, it being the only one I can command. Will you excuse the unnatural writing and somewhat blotted state of these sheets, the result of railroad writing and not blotting? I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Hon. Arthur Gordon to the Bishop of Oxford.

Jan. 17, 1853.

My dear Lord,—I am instructed to ask whether you can send my father a copy of the Address which has already been agreed to by Convocation? It is in the newspapers, I know, but you may have it, perhaps, printed in another form. I see there is a great hankering for a Crown prorogation, if not *dissolution,* even before the 16th. Yours most faithfully,

ARTHUR H. GORDON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Jan. 18, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I have not a copy of the Address nor do I believe it was ever printed in the papers *in extenso*. You would get a MS. copy at once by sending to Mr. J. H. Dyke, the Archbishop's officer in Doctors Commons. God forbid that any such measure as you glance at should be adopted. It would light up such a flame as none living might see the end of. Remember that the Address, a most moderate one, was agreed to, not only *nemine contradicente*, but all, including the Archbishop, *entirely* assenting; and to refuse to receive such an address, when there is no precedent whatever for not receiving one, would be so violent a stretch of the prerogative as would drive too many to madness. We are working hard for Gladstone still. Depend upon it, our enemies in *this* cause are the deadly enemies of your father's Government. Most sincerely yours,

S. Oxon.

Jan. 19.—Off after early breakfast to Windsor. Long talk with the Prince in his room on Convocation. Tried to set plainly before him our needs, and internal action the only remedy. He spoke, as always, kindly and plainly, and paid great attention to my view. The Queen kind in manner. The Prince full of preparation for invasion, discussing with Lord Clarendon and me the need of having barracks about thirty miles from London, *e.g.* Reigate, Reading, &c., connected with meshwork of railways to form second line of defence, 'We are strong up to Lt.-Cols., but we have no one who could bring up large bodies of men and artillery.'

Jan. 20.—Chapel and breakfast, and talk with Stockmar on Church matters. He, as always, very sensible; promised to talk thereon with Lord Aberdeen. Off for London. Meeting of Committee of Convocation; agreed to our course, to circulate a bill with a letter I drew up stating that we intended to draw from it the *heads* of the measure we should propose to Parliament. Bishops London, Winchester, S. David's, Chichester and self all of one mind.

The Hon. A. Gordon to the Bishop of Oxford.

Jan. 19, 1853.

My dear Lord,—It is very difficult for me to say anything about my father's intentions, for I think he has not made any very definite resolution himself. The only thing which appears to be irrevocably fixed is the limitation of the session to a single day, and he talks of seeing the Archbishop in order to effect this. I hope that he has altogether abandoned the idea of anticipating this session by a prorogation; but a second day's sitting will *inevitably* ensure the interference of the Crown. Your arguments made a strong impression upon him *personally* but he will not yield to them. Pray let me know the result of your deliberation to-morrow. Of course you will not communicate my father's sentiments to anyone but the Bishop of London. Most sincerely yours,

A. H. GORDON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Jan. 23, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I have no doubt but that I shall be able to bring matters through in one day's sitting. Of course if Lord Aberdeen, as he thought possible, could secure the co-operation towards this end of the Villiers and Elliott section in the Lower House, it would be more certain. *All* agreed heartily to my propositions, as laid before our last committee. I observed with them strictly your injunction as to silence on your father's views. With one person besides the Bishop of London I have taken the liberty of speaking *generally* as to his view, but he is one of the safest of men—Baron Stockmar. I was, for reasons you will easily conceive, anxious to set my views before him and he volunteered, 'I will speak to Lord Aberdeen about it.' So I put him, under charge of confidence, in possession of your father's views. I had a long and confidential talk with the Prince on

the subject but did not with him allude to Lord Aberdeen's opinions. I hope that nothing will be said to the Archbishop to lead him to say we *must* not adjourn, &c. He is not strong enough to be trusted to carry out such a line and a threat from him would provoke opposition. It would, in my judgment, be far safer for Lord Aberdeen's own conclusion if he will leave the matter in the hands it now is, and I think I can engage that, if so, we will adjourn on the 16th without any great explosion.

The next extract from the Diary refers to the House of Mercy at Clewer, to which from the beginning the Bishop gave the most heedful attention.

Jan. 24.—From Oxford by train to Windsor, where Carter [Rev. Canon Carter] met me and to Clewer. Service in house. Addressing penitents. Then admitting Sister ——, and then long and private discourse with Mrs. ——. She opened to me Pusey's influence. She had been taken to Pusey by her late husband, and could not, out of regard to his memory, renounce Pusey as a guide. Long talk at night with Carter, &c. Resolved that for the future the rule should be universal: none should be admitted who would not, whilst in it, be contented with the spiritual aid of Bishop or Chaplains, or that it would become a mere nest of true Puseyites. Also on a full and absolute removal of crucifixes.

Jan. 25.—Early to Holy Communion at the house. There saw Mrs. —— and told her my decision. She approved. She said she had no doubt Sister —— would go if she was required to give up the crucifix. I replied that if so she was not for us.

Immediately after the foregoing entry the Bishop wrote to Dr. Pusey, telling him of the decision he had come to and explaining that this decision was not directed especially *at him* but at all *foreign* influences. Dr. Pusey's answer can be gathered from the following letter.

The Bishop of Oxford to Rev. Dr. Pusey.

Feb. 7, 1853.

My dear Dr. Pusey,—I am much obliged by your very kind letter. The principle upon which I act may be stated very briefly. Sisterhoods are at present an experiment amongst us; a failure at this moment might deprive us of them permanently. I therefore am bound to use every precaution to prevent failure. I believe therefore that I do right in adopting a rule which secures us from unascertainable spiritual influence and counsels, even at the risk of restricting the number of applicants, and I may reasonably ask those who engage with me in it to surrender some personal advantages (if it be such a surrender) for this work of God, trusting to Him to make up, Himself, whatever of outward aid they forfeit. I am, ever most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

Jan. 26 (Peterboro'). — Breakfast at the Palace. The Bishop's (Davys) story, 'The Queen always had from my first knowing her a most striking regard to truth. I remember when I had been teaching her one day, and she was very impatient for the lesson to be over and once or twice rather refractory, the Duchess of Kent came in and asked how she had behaved. Lehzen[4] said, "Oh, once she was rather troublesome." The Princess touched her and said, "No, Lehzen; *twice*, don't you remember?" The Duchess of Kent too was a woman of great truth.'

On Jan. 31, Mr. Gordon writes, saying that a highly important conversation had taken place with regard to Convocation. The first question discussed was the power of the Crown to interfere at any stage in the proceedings of Convocation. It was answered that the power was undoubted, and had been exercised over and over again. It was next asked, whether granting

[4] Madame Lehzen held the position of sub-governess to the Princess Victoria for many years.

the legality of discussions on certain subjects without the Queen's license, such discussions were likely to be attended with danger to the interest and influence of the Church. The next inquiry was whether the danger was one which imperatively called for the interference of the Crown. It was then asked whether a brief discussion might not be so managed and moderated as to be harmless, without any necessity of bringing it to an arbitrary close. This was still more reluctantly admitted than the former propositions had been, and it was urged that to bring such management to a successful issue it would be necessary, not only to fortify the Archbishop by strong assurances of support, but also to take an early opportunity of declaring to Parliament that the Government regarded with the utmost disapprobation all plans for the revival of synodical action. One of those present (a person of considerable importance) recommended that a system of marked disfavour should be adopted and steadily persevered in towards those who promulgated 'principles likely to disturb the peace of the Church;' and he observed *that even the most active, ambitious and talented of the High Church party were not likely long to hold principles which permanently excluded them from preferment.* The next question was the advisability of issuing a Commission. Mr. Gordon says: 'My father has privately desired me to make out a list of names for a Commission which would be *accepted* by our friends. . . . You are sadly mistaken if you suppose Stockmar to be at all favourable to the cause.' Mr. Gordon enclosed two lists, in both of which the Bishop's name was omitted, his reason being, that had it been inserted it would have been necessary to put in Dean Elliott or some other leader on that side.

The Bishop's reply is as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. A. Gordon.

Feb. 2, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I am surprised at the reluctance shown to Lord Aberdeen's idea of a Commission of Inquiry because, in the conversation to which I referred in my last, that very plan was suggested by the very influential person to whom, I suppose, you allude. I have no doubt that it is the only safe way in which a Government, which is not prepared to allow Convocation to feel its way, however gently, to a revival of its functions, can meet the present needs and desires of the Church. But the composition of such a body must be, of course, a matter of difficulty. I think it ought to consist of the best men who are willing to act on it, and who—from position, character, and known attention to the subject, might naturally be on it (provided always that they have been temperate, reasonable, and unfactious in their conduct); balancing those supposed to have a bias towards one side by those supposed to have a bias towards the other ; so that the pro's and the con's may be thoroughly sifted.

And here I will at once deal with my own case to illustrate my meaning. I think that if such a Commission is issued, I ought to be on it because I fulfil those conditions, and that my exclusion would be understood by the Church only in one of two ways—either, 1st, as implying that a decision contrary to all modes of internal Church action was the foregone conclusion of the Commission ; or else, 2nd, that there had been something so factious and unreasonable in my mode of advocating the question that it must be thus marked. The *first* would be unjust alike to your father's honesty in issuing the Commission, and to the Church ; the second would, I submit, be unjust to me w..o have, by God's help, so acted in this matter as to restrain the impetuous and prevent excess and to give no pain to my opponents, but instead, to win a hostile majority to act unanimously with

me. In no parallel case, so far as I know, has any public man known to be interested in such a matter been thus excluded from the Commission. Lord Blandford sits with me at this time on the Chapter Commission, on this very ground. And it is only by thus leaving in the brains on both sides that a true result can be honestly hoped for. But then I quite allow that I should be balanced ; not, however—pardon me for saying so plainly—by Dean Elliott, or such as he. If you wish to balance *him*, you must take an intemperate zealot on the other side ; . . . would be a good counterpoise. But exclude of course such men on both sides. The proper man to balance me, and one who ought to be on such a Commission, is the Bishop of Winchester, a brother Bishop, and one whose presence would be to the great body of the Evangelical clergy the same assurance of fairness that mine would be to the great mass of moderate orthodox Churchmen.

The letter then goes through the other names in the two lists—suggesting, approving, &c. ; but as the Commission was never issued that part is omitted.

I think any declaration of the Government before the 16th would be very undesirable as making the course of those who wish to guide the more ardent into a peaceable adjournment at the close of that day far more difficult, unless indeed the Government announced a Commission of Inquiry. The idea of the Archbishop needing support is entirely unreal. If he were opposed by violent men, the case would be quite different ; but if we can agree only to do what can be done on the 16th, and then adjourn as usual, what is there to support him against ? He will be quite content with this, or any other course which is pointed out to him. As to the miserable suggestion of governing the Church through the bribe of patronage, I earnestly trust that your father may be kept from so ruinous a course. It was acting on this principle which has made Lord John Russell so detested by nine-tenths of the clergy as a detected briber of men to betray their trust. Most surely it is an immoral and fatal policy, for

it proceeds on the supposition that men will for the sake of obtaining preferment hold on such subjects one view and act on its opposite, and the effect of this must be that the most honourable and upright men will be thrown into indignant opposition, and crafty time-servers fill the highest trusts in the Church of Christ. I dread to contemplate the state into which the continuance of such a miserable policy for a few years would inevitably plunge us. Let real agitators indeed be marked, as they ought to be in any profession; but let the Church, as a profession, have the same fair play which is given to the army, or the bar. I am, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Feb. 4, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I enclose you, in confidence, 3 letters received to-day, which will show you that there will be far more difficulty than I anticipated in getting the enemies of your father's Government to assent to adjourning on the 16th. Specially the Bishop of Exeter, who, as you know, is a vehement politician. Would it be possible to get a statement from Lord Aberdeen, before the 16th, of his intention of inquiry? This would give us all we want in the way of power of making friendly terms. Most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

Feb. 9. *Ash Wednesday.*—With Lord Aberdeen after Church, by appointment. Free and pleasant talk about Convocation,—showed him a draft of report. He objecting that it was too detailed to get decision on. Committee (of Convocation) again suggested alterations. Dined with Bishop of London. Sat up all night writing University sermon.

Feb. 10.—Attended Committee of Convocation again, passed my draft of the address.

The next day the Bishop writes to Mr. Gordon

on the question of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill. This Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Frederick Peel on behalf of the Government, to enable the Canadian Legislature to sell certain lands called the Clergy Reserves. These Reserves, amounting to half a million acres, had become the property of the clergy in the following way :—By an Act of Parliament passed in 1791 the Province of Canada was divided into an Upper and Lower Province, each with its own Legislature and by that Act it was provided that whenever any land was allotted in Upper Canada, one-seventh was to be reserved for the maintenance of the clergy. In Lower Canada the proportion was greater; the result was this great accumulation of land, divided by the allotments into blocks of about 200 acres in extent, mostly in an uncultivated state. In 1840 the Provinces were united; and in 1850 the Canadian Legislature voted an address to the Crown, praying to be allowed to deal with the land. Upon this the Government introduced this Bill, which, in spite of the most strenuous opposition, became law.

I heard last night notice given of a Bill on Clergy Reserves. Now I have undertaken to present a petition on the subject from Canada to our House, I should of course speak respectfully of the supposed intention of the future Bill, and that it was intended to maintain the Church's *just* rights. I wish you could ascertain for me whether it would be more convenient for me to present it on Tuesday next with such anticipations, or to wait the coming up of the Bill.

The following is on the same subject.

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. A. Gordon.

Feb. 16, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I have now, as far as I have been able in the time, refreshed my memory as to the Clergy Reserve question. My view is (1) that the question of the Clergy Reserves is one which may properly, and therefore ought to be, left to the Colonial Legislature to settle, and that in so doing there is the best chance of maintaining the claim of the Church to endowment out of them. (2) I am disposed to doubt whether there is not some claim of justice in the plea that, if at this instant they were handed over to a Ministry (Colonial) that was pledged to their secularisation, this must follow; and therefore (3) I should much like to consider whether they might not be handed over to the Colonial Legislature on a certain day, to be fixed in this Act, which should give time to prevent any accidental majority finally fixing the question of secularisation. But this last is only an idea. Now, in this sense I should be perfectly ready to speak, and I am very sorry that I did not know that the matter was coming on yesterday, when I might have felt sure of my ground, and spoken. But here is now my difficulty: my only plea for speaking is the Petition I named to you. I have read it for the first time since I saw you, this evening; and it is very strong in the contrary sense. It was sent me by Archdeacon Bethune with his pamphlet, also very strong in the opposite sense. Now, the question is, Can I *honourably* present the petition, which I presume was given me in the conviction I should support, in order to oppose it? I have driven about since in order (1) to find Archdeacon Bethune that I might get from him a clear understanding, but he is out of town. (2) To see the Bishop of Quebec; I have found him, but he is quite unable to say a word on behalf of the Archdeacon. Now, your father is not only an honourable man, but also well acquainted with Parliament; and if he is of opinion that in making such an use of such a petition sent to me, I shall be acting with perfect uprightness, I will send my notice to-

morrow. But if he entertains a shadow of a doubt, I am certain I could do more for the right cause by awaiting the debate and then supporting it, than by doing anything which, by being near the wind, might expose me to the easily-cast imputation of doing a doubtful thing to support a friendly Government. I am, ever most truly yours,

S. OXON.

Lord Aberdeen's reply was that, although he had known such a thing done and had done it himself, yet he considered in this instance that it would be better for the Bishop to avoid a course which might be open to misconstruction. He further said that he considered it most desirable that it should be speedily known that the Bishop of Exeter, who had the day before made an intemperate speech on the subject in the House of Lords, was not the mouthpiece of the Bench. Further, he desired Mr. Gordon to convey

'his own and the Duke of Newcastle's sincere delight at seeing you thus disposed to adopt the line which they believe to be, not only politically just but also that best calculated to maintain the Church in Canada.'

The following letter shows that Lord Aberdeen consulted the Duke of Newcastle on the subject of the Bishop's letter.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Aberdeen.

My dear Lord Aberdeen,—Though sorry not to have the benefit of an early announcement of the support of the Bishop of Oxford, I can have no hesitation as to the wisdom and propriety of your advice to him. It would never do for him to play the part of Balaam and being called by Bethune to curse his enemies, to bless them altogether. I am, yours very sincerely,

NEWCASTLE.

Feb. 15.—To House. Found debate on Clergy Reserves on. Bishop of Exeter violent and unfair and personal. Excellent answer of Duke of Newcastle. I should have spoken against Bishop of Exeter, but had not got it up and, being for Government, was shy of doing so; very sorry after that I had not done so.

Feb. 16.—Convocation. All day in.[5] Much tired. Longing to go to Grillion's, but having so much to do, thought it better not. Sir T. Acland came in late and told me. Excellent dinner, and the two I had voted for elected, H. Drummond and Thesiger. H. D., ignoring our existence, and then, 'I believe I have been up for ballot for 30 years.'

The Bishop, unable to find Archdeacon Bethune, wrote the following letter about his presenting the petition.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Bethune.

Feb. 17, 1853.

My dear Archdeacon,—I endeavoured to find you last night to learn your wishes about the petition you put into my hands under the following circumstances:—I approve of the Government proposal to transfer the whole power over the Clergy Reserves to the Colonial Legislature and I think the Church efforts ought to be directed, not to resisting this but to securing that the Colonial Legislature should not secularize the property. This, I have great hope, might be secured if, with a generous yielding of the Imperial control, the due use to be made of their power were pressed on the colony. Perhaps, too, a time might be interposed before the Colonial Legislature had the power. I could then heartily and, as I believe, most effectively speak against the secularisation of this property; but I could not do other than support the

[5] The Upper House of Convocation met in the Bounty Office, the Lower in the Jerusalem Chamber. Her Majesty's answer to the Address agreed on at the last meeting was read, various petitions were presented, and the Archbishop brought the proceedings to a close in the afternoon.

justice of giving the control of these possessions to the Colonial Legislature. Now, not knowing whether this would meet your view and that of those whom you represent, I have forborne presenting the petition, that you may, if you will, put it into other hands. It is at 26 Pall Mall, if you wish to claim it. Will you let me know early your mind? Letters are to reach me at Banbury till Monday inclusive. I am, ever yours,

S. OXON.

Feb. 20.—Heard to-day of the death of the Bishop of Lincoln (Kaye). Much affected by it. It depresses me sorely. May I learn 'the night cometh when no man can work.'

On February 25, Mr. Gordon writes, saying that Lord Derby had given notice that he would on the 28th present certain petitions relating to the Canada Clergy Reserves; and that Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle hoped that the Bishop would be present and speak, as they attached great importance to his declaration on the subject being made soon. The following letter to his brother refers to this, as well as the appointment to Lincoln.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Claydon, Feb. 23, 1853.

My dearest Brother,—You will be watching with interest the appointment of the new Bishop of Lincoln. I may say to you in confidence that it will be Lord Aberdeen's own appointment, and not Lord John's. It will therefore even if not all we could wish, be honestly made with a view to the Church's efficiency and not dishonestly, to promote a party. What is your view on the Clergy Reserves? I cannot understand any *principle* on which we can withhold that question from the local legislature, especially if we wish them to

settle for themselves, by some such bill as Gladstone's, their own spiritual relations to us. Bishop Broughton's[6] death at this moment is a great loss. Your ever-loving brother,

S. OXON.

Feb. 28.—To the House. Replied to Lord Derby. Kept the thread of my argument well. But did what I had meant not in too much speaking to persons, and exhibiting too much contempt for some very weak counter arguments. Lord Clarendon came to thank me for my speech, as most excellent, &c. Did not feel in the least elated but as almost vexed with myself for not coming near my *ideal.* To-night I think I was too argumentative.

In the speech referred to here, replying to the Bishop of Exeter, who had quoted Mr. Wilberforce as holding different views and had said that the Bishop of Oxford had robbed his father of his highest honour (his name), the Bishop thus feelingly alluded to the charge.

I will refer to one thing in the speech of the right rev. prelate on Friday evening. I know he did not mean what he said unkindly, but it will be in the recollection of noble lords that he drew a very long, a very plausible and I am sure I may call it a very ingenious argument from the conduct of one very dear to me; and to bear whose name is my highest honour and greatest blessing. The right rev. prelate declared that I had robbed that name of its highest honour by the argument I had used on this question. My lords, I must beg you to pause before you agree in that opinion, for I can assure you that there is no feeling dearer to my heart than the honour of that honoured name. I deem it to be my greatest boast to be sprung from one who, gifted with the vastest opportunities, with the friendship, the closest friendship, of England's greatest minister, the highest powers, the

[6] Bishop Broughton was Bishop of Sydney. He died in England.

most commanding social position, used them all for no personal aggrandisement, and died a poor commoner—a poorer man than when he entered public life, seeing every one of his contemporaries raised to wealth and hereditary honours, leaving to his children no high rank or dignity, according to the notions of this world, but bequeathing to them the perilous inheritance of a name which the Christian world venerated. My lords, I cannot bear that it should be said, though in the most oblique way, or by any deduction from what I say, it should be held, that I have for an instant derogated from his fame.

On the next day he writes to his brother as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Culverton, March 1, 1853.

My dearest Brother,—Jackson of St. James's is to be the new bishop. Longley is offered Lincoln, if he wishes to change. It is quite a *respectable* appointment, and Lord Aberdeen told the Bishop of London, in great confidence, that making it *first* was, he was convinced, the way to enable him hereafter to make the men who for the last eight years had been systematically excluded. You will see by the papers that I went up and said my say last night. I suppose I shall be well abused by 'Herald' and 'Record' for being a traitor; but, holding those opinions, I think I was bound to state them early. Pray write and tell me how far you agree with my speech. You know how I lean on your opinion. The appointment of Jackson turned at last on a feather's weight. I will tell you all when we meet. Not Field :[7] I think that notion is gone by, and I am not sorry. Translation from the Colonies would do harm. Here I am with three Confirmations to-day and deep snow. I am ever thinking of you, my

[7] Bishop of Newfoundland, whose appointment to an English See had been talked of.

beloved brother. I pray you take care of yourself. I know not what I could do without you, you kind, good, true, wise and helpful friend of forty-two conscious years. I am, your ever-loving,

S. OXON.

Mr. Gordon, writing on March 1, says :—

'My father desires me to return you his warmest thanks for your admirable speech of last night.'

On March 7, the Bishop writes to Mr. Gladstone, saying :—

I must thank you in one line for your defence of me against Sir John Pakington. It is worth while to be often so attacked to be so defended by you.

The occasion here referred to was the second reading of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill in the House of Commons. Sir J. Pakington, speaking against the second reading, commented on the Bishop's speech in the House of Lords on February 28. 'The Times' of March 5 reports Mr. Gladstone's speech as follows :—

The right hon. gentleman has been pleased to advert to the speech of a right rev. prelate in another place as a speech of plausible fallacies in support of the present bill. He was astonished that the right hon. gentleman should have thought himself entirely warranted with so much coolness, to set down as plausible fallacies what other hearers of that right rev. prelate had described as not among the least brilliant orations ever delivered by one who was certainly among the first of our public speakers. (Loud cheers.) But he (Mr. Gladstone) did not wish to dwell upon the merit of his public speaking, but upon the merit of his speech. He was glad that a bishop of the Church of England was able, from the strength of his mind, his keen sense of justice and the courage with which he defended what he believed to be right,

to come forward and declare himself a supporter of a bill like this, notwithstanding the obloquy which, especially among his profession, might attach itself to such support. He believed the right rev. prelate judged well and wisely (hear, hear) in the support he gave to this bill. (Hear, hear.)

The next letter quoted is to the Bishop of Quebec, who came over as the representative of the Bishops of British North America. As will be seen by the answer, he differed from the line taken by Bishop Wilberforce.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Quebec.

Trafalgar, April 18, 1853.

My dear Lord,—I beg to thank you heartily for your kind and most affecting letter. I cannot really express to you the pain it is to me to act in this matter against your judgment, and that of my honoured friend the Bishop of Toronto ; and to *seem* to sanction the impoverishing of a poor, noble-hearted, and blessed branch of our Common Church. Believe me that I *have* prayed to be guided to a right decision, and that I *will* do so yet more ; and that if I saw myself in error no fear of any imputation of changeableness should prevent my openly declaring it. I have already faced formerly as great a storm of misrepresentation and obloquy, by daring so to act, as ever broke on any man ; and I would at once face it again on the same inducement. But I am bound to say that at present my convictions are unshaken. I believe in my conscience (1) that this *is* a matter for Colonial and not Imperial legislation ; (2) that the attempt to retain it (as I deem unjustly) for Imperial legislation with a view to preventing the secularisation of the Reserves will infallibly be defeated ; and (3) that the only result of the attempt will be to affix to the Church the stigma of being opposed to Colonial independence ; and (4) that therefore, whatever be the issue, justice and true policy alike require that we should fight the

battle in the Colonial, and not in the Imperial legislature, and least of all in the House of Lords. I am, my dear Lord, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The following letter was written in reply to a clergyman who, in a most abusive letter, took exception to the Bishop's conduct; he said he wrote it because the Bishop had made himself conspicuous as a champion for the robbery of the ecclesiastical endowment of the Anglo-Catholic Church, and also had, by his vote, committed the awful sin of sacrilege. And so on for about twenty pages.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——

May 10, 1853.

Rev. Sir,—As I feel it due to answer all letters written to me by clergymen with their names, I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your abusive letter of May 7. I will not return any of your revilings but simply say that I neither spoke nor voted for the despoiling of the Canadian Church: I would as soon have cut off my right hand. But I firmly believe (1) that the Canadian Legislature have a right to legislate as to these Clergy Reserves; and (2) that the sure way to lose them and the love of the Canadian people together, is to withhold that right. I foresaw that intemperate people would wrongfully abuse me when I resolved to act according to my conscience in this matter; and from such abuse I humbly appeal to our common Judge. I am, faithfully yours,

S. OXON.

On April 27 Mr. Gordon writes, referring to the proposed Commission:[8] 'The question is, what are they to do? I wish you could find time to write an answer to the following question (to be shown to Lord Aber-

[8] p. 30.

deen), "To what definite objects should the attention of the proposed Commission be directed?"'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. Arthur Gordon.

April 30, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—You ask me to put down for you in writing what I think should be the subjects of inquiry by any Royal Commission, if such should be issued, touching the synodal action of the Church. To answer this, I must premise why I should be glad to see such a Commission issued. There is, then, a wide-spread belief that the power of such internal action is required, (1) to enable us to alter the Church's *rule* where lapse of time has altered its *practice*; (2) to decide practical questions, such as the meaning of rubrics, which in the course of time have become dubious, and so occasion badges of divisions; (3) to give us such canons and other assistances as may define, and so at once restrain as to extent, and strengthen in its direction, the Bishop's power. I give these only as specimens. Then, secondly, there is a wide-spread belief that we are quite competent as to prudence, knowledge, and other qualifications to discuss these subjects with every reasonable expectation of our reaching conclusions which would heal breaches, unite separated parties and strengthen what remains. Now, the existence of this wide-spread belief keeps very many restless and unquiet until *some* step is taken in the direction to which it points. Then the formal meeting of Convocation becomes a time of trouble from the attempt to convert the formal meeting into a reality. Now, inquiry by a fairly constituted Commission would (1) at once and certainly quiet this restless uneasiness; men would wait quietly the issue of its inquiries. (2) It would clear these questions, or tend to clear them: (*a*) Are these matters which for the quiet and strength of the Church need its own internal action? (*b*) Is the present constitution of the Church's synod such as to make it really fit for dealing with them? (*c*) If not, would its constitution be so

altered as to make it fit? (*d*) What changes should be recommended for *its* consideration and adoption? Here then are the subjects for inquiry, and I cannot but hope, (though every advancing year makes me less sanguine,) that such an inquiry so conducted would tend to promote the internal unity, peace, and efficiency of our Church. Most sincerely yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

The following entry is one of many referring to the state of parishes. The Bishop was on one of his annual Confirmation tours.

March 11.—'The chancel and Lord's table mean, wet and utterly neglected; everything bearing impress of lowest churchmanship. Prayer-meetings for 'all ministers and teachers.' The candidates manifestly had care taken with them, great and laborious care, but indevout, little feeling. All far better than six years since, yet all as far as possible from the temper of the Church of England. All unsound, and to me as unpleasing in self-exaltedness as possible in a good man. A letter from . . . telling me that beloved Basil has congestion of the left lung—most deeply wounded. That boy—at this season—my beloved boy, my Benoni.

The next morning, however, the alarm occasioned by this letter passed off.

March 12.—A favourable report of Basil. Oh, may God continue it. I woke constantly in the night to think of him and pray for him.

The end of the following entry refers to episcopal appointments.

April 4.—A. Gordon said, 'If the Bishop of London were to be taken, my father would appoint Bishop of Salisbury. He has a high opinion of him as a man of business. If the late Archbishop had died, as was expected, in 1842,

Sir Robert Peel would have appointed the Bishop of London; it was settled. Peel was in Scotland, and wrote the letter to offer it to the Bishop, that no time might be lost if the event had happened.' A talk at night. Lord Aberdeen willing to be asked in Parliament about additions in the episcopate, and to give a favourable answer or to bring it before Cabinet, and, if Cabinet assented, to give a still more favourable, with a view, however, to future and not to any immediate action. I dissuaded stirring the question at all until the Government were really prepared to act.

April 25.—Thought about speech on 'Clergy Reserves;' at night spoke very late. Lord Derby provoked, and retorted with 'Smile and be a villain,' ungenerously, rudely and stupidly enough. I was utterly discontented with my speech, and grieved that I had given any cause for anger. The Bishop of Exeter, too, very angry with me. 'A most unfair speech, &c.' I do not at all think it was. But I came home utterly desponding and thinking I never would speak again till I could so command myself as to provoke no one.

Referring to this sentence Mr. Gordon writes as follows:—'I recollect when riding with the Bishop one day some reference being made to this speech. He said that he never made a speech in the House of Lords that he did not afterwards regret and the better the speech the more cause he usually had to repent it. He complained that the Bishops were not, like other peers, allowed to speak except in their robes. The thought that when confirming or ordaining or administering the Holy Communion, there might be those present who had last seen him in the very same garments, excited by debate pressing an antagonist by ridicule or sarcasm, and might be thereby tempted to regard the rite he was engaged in as a hollow farce, often inclined him to give up parliamentary speaking altogether. Nor were the robes they wore in the

House their proper "Parliament robe," the sleeves too were much in the way of a speaker; but that was a trifle.'

What occurred on the occasion of the Bishop's speech on the Canada Clergy Reserves was as follows:—Lord Derby moved an amendment to the bill and the Bishop, speaking on the question, quoted Burke as having said that the Americans became intractable whenever they saw the least attempt to wrest freedom from them by force or shuffle it from them by chicane. Lord Derby having taken exception to these expressions, the Bishop explained that the allusion was made with a smile, and was not intended to be offensive. Lord Derby then retorted with quoting—

> A man may smile and smile, and be a villain.

Lord Clarendon, amid the cheers of the House, interposed and said, 'We are not accustomed, even in the language of poetry, to hear such an expression as "villain" applied to any noble lord in this house.' Lord Derby's amendment was lost by a majority of 40.

April 26.—To House of Lords. Lord Aberdeen came and talked with me about Lord Derby's speech and mine. Highly eulogistic.

April 29.—With Baron Stockmar at Buckingham Palace. Much political talk. 'All would do if Government able to keep fully Conservative.' Spoke strongly of excellence of my speech on Clergy Reserves and Lord Derby's vulgarity.

April 30.—Early letters. Then Committee of S. P. G. on sending a deputation to America. Rather dissuaded from sending bishops this time, and recommended waiting for direct invitation from Convention. Private view of pictures. Then rode to the Zoological, and back to dress for Academy dinner. Next but one to Lord Derby. He leant over and

said, 'At all events, I must do the Bishop of Oxford the justice to say that *he* can take a joke.'

May 4.—To the Zoological Council. The Prince nominated me the Vice-President. To Middlesex Hospital; gave away prizes, and addressed. To the Mercers' Hall; spoke on the House of Lords.

May 6.—Lay in bed for cold till ten. Letters, people. Then with Bishop of London to Mr. Monro's pictures. An interesting set, specially one beautiful Raphael. The Virgin's face exquisite for his second style, but not the full purity of the first. Then to Gladstone; talk on commission as to synodal action. He doubtful unless the bishops or Convocation applied for it, for fear of the precedent it might set. Then to the House; spoke shortly on amendments to Chapter Bill.

May 7.—Morning letters. Cold better, but still bad. Breakfasted at Grillion's. Then to Athenæum and wrote. Then National Society Committee. Much talk on Government Education Bill, and great objections to it from Sir T. Phillips, &c.; all seemed to condemn it strongly. Then to Stafford House with Lord Harrowby, where all the world assembled in 'Aunt Harriet's Cabin' to see Mrs. Beecher Stowe. She spoke to me with interest. 'There was a time when your father's work seemed as hard as ours does now. Yet he succeeded.'

June 6.—Early from London to Abingdon Road, and thence to Dorchester, where opening, and all successful. Then back to Culham, where waited some time for Lord Derby, who came at last. He spoke well and to the point, but not rising to higher flights. Hardwickes, Walpole, Foulis, Hawtrey, Durnford, Kennaway to Cuddesdon.

June 7.—To Oxford early to Commemoration. All well received in the theatre. I very kindly.

The following letter to his brother refers to the above entries and the part the Bishop took in the House of Lords on the Oaths Bill.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Rail from near London, June 13, 1853.

My beloved Brother,—I think upon the whole that all has passed well at Oxford. Lord Derby did *not* make any political capital. Politics indeed were very successfully excluded. Lord Hardwicke tried once good-humouredly to get in a little Protectionist doctrine at Exeter, and Durnford was amused by my following him, and sweeping away the cobwebs. To my very great surprise, I had a most enthusiastic reception, both from the area and gallery. I fully expected my support of the Aberdeen Government would have made that impossible. I suppose that my dear Herbert is gone to the Dardanelles. May God keep him from harm! As to Lyndhurst's Bill, it was universally understood to be merely a well-contrived second Jew bill. The words 'on the true faith of a Christian' were to be struck out in the Commons, and the bill would come back to us too late for us to be *sure* of restoring them. Thus the Bill would have carried the Jew admissions by a side wind. Now first I was bound in consistency to resist their admission; and next, even if I had not been, I am clear that the measure should not be carried so. I am, your ever-loving,

S. OXON.

The following relates to a doubt expressed by Mr. Gordon as to whether the Duke of Newcastle would be able to proceed with the Colonial Church Government Bill. A few months later the Bishop was attacked by a certain portion of the press on the occasion of this bill being thrown out by the House of Commons. His letter to Mr. Gordon is given.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

June 4, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—My opinion is that we had at present better wait for the issue of the Colonial Church Bill, and the

discussions to which that must give rise in Parliament. I consider it of the first importance for Gladstone's character, the Duke's and Herbert's, that such a bill should proceed. I am sure that no more shaking blow to their just influence could be devised than that a measure they so pressed last year in opposition, (for it was quite understood that Gladstone spoke their common mind,) should now, when, (really much in consequence,) Colonial Bishops had assembled from all ends of the earth to advise, be suffered to drop through by a Cabinet of which they are part. Now, no one can tell what may be the limit to the subjects which that bill may bring under discussion, and therefore, until that is settled, I think the Commission question had better rest. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

On June 13 Mr. Gordon writes asking whether the Bishop is aware that the Bishop of London wishes to move that a 'copy of the Report of the Committee of Convocation on the subject of the Clergy Discipline Bill be laid on the table of the House of Lords,' and says that Lord Aberdeen fears that such a motion will raise the whole question of Convocation. The Bishop's reply is as follows :—

June 16, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—The proposition as to the Report of the Committee of Convocation was the Bishop of Salisbury's. I assented to the suggestion. We none of us contemplated raising any discussion on the subject of Convocation. The document is a public one, the Convocation being summoned by Queen's writ, and the custody of the documents is in the Registrar of the Diocese of London, Mr. Dyke. The report is in print, but our object was to get it more known, thinking this would be useful, first for the subject itself, Clergy Discipline, as showing that Convocation could deal calmly with practical questions of that class. I cannot but believe that if the Bishop in half-a-dozen words moved for the report, as bearing on a subject on which in another year the House would

be called upon to legislate (Clergy Discipline), that *no* discussion would arise. But we shall be willing, I am sure, to act upon Lord Aberdeen's final judgment in the matter. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

June 28.—After many letters, to christening of Prince Leopold; striking scene. The young blind King (Hanover). The Koh-i-noor on the young mother's diadem. Service too theatrical, and Archbishop's manner singularly unreal and therefore poor.

July 22.—Colonial Church Government Bill reported. Tea with Bishop of Salisbury at Athenæum. Greatly depressed with the feeling that to labour hardest as a Bishop is to incur certain taboo, unlike all other works.

On Friday, July 8, an entry in the Diary records that both the Church bills—the Colonial Church Government Bill and the Church Missionary Bill—passed through the House of Lords. The following correspondence bears on the rejection by the House of Commons of both these bills. Although the object of the second of them is fully described in the following letters, it is as well to state that the reason which at the moment made it necessary to obtain the power thus sought was to enable the Church of England to consecrate and send out a Bishop to Borneo, to which country Sir James Brooke, then in England, was returning.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

H. of C., July 22, 1853.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—That which I had feared is coming upon the Colonial Church Bill. Our Solicitor-General is greatly moved by it, and it is difficult to say

whether more by horror or alarm. His opinion, I should think, will carry his Attorney's. It will be natural that they should be consulted, indeed almost necessary. Now what I am afraid of is that they will say they would have approved of a purely permissive bill, like mine of last year, but will insist that this is not such and will in that way throw it over to another session. Bethell[9] is ready to pin himself to the last print of my Bill—nay, he would even do so without the restrictive clauses, and would like it all the better; but he cannot bear the idea of giving a *quasi* legal sanction and authority to the Synod. His opinions, in fact, suit me very closely; but what I am afraid of is that we shall play at battledore and shuttlecock with the bill, and allow the subject to be tossed backwards and forwards by objections from opposite quarters while the substantial question will remain suspended in mid air all the time. I have begged the Solicitor-General to go over the bill, and show in what way he thinks it can be made endurable. Meantime, I think it well to apprise you. I am, my dear Bishop, ever yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

26 Pall Mall, July 23, 1853.

My dear Gladstone,—Your letter brings heavy news indeed. I had quite hoped that we were free from any such reverse the issue of which would be in many ways exceedingly mischievous.

Of course, at this period of the Session, any fundamental change must destroy the Bill for this year and this will be a heavy blow to those of us who have worked hard and waited patiently to get it through. Further, after what has passed in the Lords, to have it upset in the Commons through (in spite of all that we can say) what will be believed to be your want of support, will be very injurious to us all in all ways.

[9] The Solicitor-General.

Surely as it is quite plain that the Bill does *not* give any legal status to the assemblies, *you* can overrule Bethell. His strong bias against all synodical action is well known. You do not forget that *he* esteems a committee of Convocation illegal. Pray excuse some illegibility of hand, as I write in my carriage going to the railway to preach to-morrow at Henley (address Park Place, Henley-on-Thames). I hope to be in Pall Mall in good time on Monday. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Downing Street, August 3, 1853.

My dear Lord Bishop,—You will have seen in the newspapers, before this reaches you, the fate of the Colonial Church Bill. I think the course of the debate was mainly due to the want of a sponsor for the Bill. This is the more to be regretted because to-day Walpole tells Herbert he was ready to move the second reading of the Bill. But there were other auxiliary causes, the very vehement intervention of Kinnaird and his friends, and, what is more important, the combined declarations of Inglis and Henley about the Bill, which afforded another example of the difficulty of choosing, under the circumstances of the day, between one political party and another, *as such*, in regard to the interests of the Church. I must say that Lord John did and said all a man could, but Henley's declaration put the matter beyond all doubt, and nothing remained but to leave the question upon a footing as creditable and as hopeful for the future as possible, which I endeavoured to do. One other question remains: what should be done? It occurs to me that the Colonial Bishops now in England might do well to meet and to present a petition expressing their regret that circumstances have prevented legislation during the present year, and praying that Parliament will, at the earliest practicable period next year, proceed to make provision by removal of disability in such

mode as they shall think fit for what they know to be really a crying practical want. Forgive my making this suggestion, and believe me, affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Pakington has been to me in the House, to express his great regret at having been absent last night, his sense of the extreme unfairness of Stephen's[1] letter and his conviction of the strong call for legislation, together with something like his general approval of the provisions of the bill.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Lavington, Petworth, August 4, 1853.

My dear Gladstone,—Many thanks for your letter forwarded by Jowett. Of course I greatly regret the event for the present, though I trust that in the long run good may come from it. I think from the account given in 'The Times' that both Lord John and you did all that you could under the circumstances. I do not understand how Walpole came not to father the bill nor how another who had been employed by no one could fix the second reading.

I propose to come to London to-morrow for the E. India Bill second reading, and shall be very glad of your further counsels as to the future. *The* difficulty as to such an address from the Colonial Bishops in England seems to me to be that almost all of them are gone, only R. Capetown, Nova Scotia, Montreal and Antigua being in England, of whom the second might refuse to sign.

Do you think that presenting a petition to our house and so giving the Duke of Newcastle an opportunity of answering Stephen's slanders, would be useful? I am a little afraid that his aid given to us may be used against the Duke, if Stephen's falsehoods circulate unrebuked by us and by the Duke himself in Parliament. Perhaps you may see him to-morrow,

[1] Sir James Stephen, Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

and if you and he think it expedient, I would give notice of presenting a petition on the night of the E. India Committee. I am ever, my dear Gladstone, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

On August 9, Mr. Gordon, who was passing a few weeks on the Continent, writes, asking the Bishop for news regarding the fate of the Colonial Churches and Missionary Bishops Bill. He says, 'I have not seen a newspaper since I left England; but Dr. Jeremie,[2] whom I met on board the steamer, told me that Stephen had written a furious attack on the Colonial Churches Bill which would most likely produce a great effect.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. A. Gordon.

Lavington, August 13, 1853.

My dear Gordon,—I received yesterday your welcome letter of the 9th, and hasten to reply to it. I am rejoiced to hear so improved an account of your health since we parted; and can see you sitting in the church you describe, and wandering amongst the bizarre shapes and many beauties of the volcanic district[3] in which you were sojourning. How is such a beautiful district—its very beauties the witness to former convulsions and sufferings—like the history of a people; full of romance and beauty and event and present instruction, (like the present fertility of an old volcanic country) when recording a time of civil strife and convulsion, compared with the dead level plains of times of fat quietness and un-incidental ease.

But you will want me to narrate and not to moralize, as you hear nothing of our doings. We got both *our* bills then well through our House. Then came the question who was to father them in the Lower House: would the Govern-

[2] Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.
[3] Auvergne.

ment? The Archbishop left it very much to me to arrange;—(I tried first to get the Government to take them);—he being at Addington but acquiescent in all. He wrote to Pakington and got him to promise support. He empowered me, when it was thought that Government should not actually adopt the bills, to ask Walpole to take the Church Government, and to arrange for the Missionary Bishops Bill. Walpole agreed, if the Government would support him. At the Cabinet on the 30th, it was resolved that the Solicitor-General should amend and that the Government would support fully the bill so amended, Walpole moving it. Walpole saw Sidney Herbert (I think) on the 30th, and it was arranged that there was no hurry for 2 or 3 days. Meanwhile some one, we have never made out who but we suppose Brotherton, had moved the bills for a first reading, and named earliest days for the second readings. Under this treatment, the 'Missionary Bishops Bill' came on first, before it had been regularly committed to any one, (I being engaged at the moment in negotiating the matter,) was attacked by A. Kinnaird in the interest of the Church Missionary Society, and the Bill was absolutely demolished *under entirely false pretences*—J. Stephen having written for private circulation a letter for which I have just called him to account. The Colonial Church Bill was in like manner brought forward unexpectedly on Tuesday the 2nd. Sidney Herbert, seeing that Walpole was not in the House, drove about to find him but could not; he and Pakington were both accidentally absent from town. A. Kinnaird, Lord Seymour, Vernon Smith and R. Spooner were furious against the bill. Lord John Russell stated that the Solicitor-General had prepared amendments, and proposed putting off the discussion a week. He behaved *very* well; Gladstone and Roundell Palmer spoke excellently. But the House was in its fag end, and Gladstone agreed, with a view to putting the matter into the best position for next year, to postpone the question till next Session. The Bishop of Salisbury writes to me in despair of the bills, as if *all* were 'effusus labor.' This I do not at all feel. It is a great thing that the Archbishops should have agreed to and passed through the Lords any such measures,

and a great step for next year. Meanwhile, 'The Record' rages against *me* specially, as having 'hoodwinked the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop,' as to the nature of these bills, in articles which the mild primate terms 'execrable.' The India Bill passed our House easily. I went up hence for the second reading to obtain a pledge from the Government that in the succeeding Bills which are to settle the judicial and other legal, &c. staff, there should be provision for increase of ecclesiastics; and secondly, to give notice of an amendment, unless Government would adopt it, as to opening the Civil Service to the Universities instead of limiting it to Haileybury. I spoke most at length on the last part and made out a strong case. I got an admission on the first, of as much as I could expect; and on the second, a promise that the Government would reconsider the clause. When I had done, Lord Aberdeen came to me and to my great pleasure said, in his terse emphatic way, 'I am very glad you made that speech.' Next day Sidney Herbert came here to spend Sunday, and said that the Cabinet adopted my amendment.

As to Convocation, matters stand thus. It appears probable that the prorogation will actually be on the 18th. This would of itself be fatal to our doing anything. Then the Archbishop, in reply to my notice, strongly pleads against business this time; and at last says he will, if attempted, prorogue by Prerogative. The Bishop of London is strong for postponing till the re-opening of Parliament. I put it to the Archbishop whether if we make no attempt now, he will not bring it to a collision at the re-assembling of Parliament. He replies, 'Before the re-assembling of Parliament it will be necessary to come to some understanding with the Government. There could be no doubt of Lord Aberdeen's mind in February; if transactions were continued beyond the address to her Majesty, the Crown would interfere. But I have had no subsequent communication.' Now, I am so convinced that any attempt to proceed without the agreement of Government would be mischievous, that, looking (1) at the absence of Bishops; (2) your absence and its consequences; I am convinced that it would not be wise to press matters *this time*, at

a chance meeting, got by accident if got at all, to a contest with the Archbishop; and I shall therefore not attend, but let the prorogation pass as a matter of form. Before the meeting of Parliament we must, with your aid, settle with Lord Aberdeen what can be allowed to us, and to that the Archbishop will assent and with that I shall be content. We cannot act in so delicate a matter, and with so little lay support, against such a Government as your father's.

How I wish I could have you down here; for real English scenery nothing can be more beautiful. The 'fish dinner' was to be yesterday. The Government are winding-up affairs quite strong. All fear of war passing. The Funds rising. The Duke of Newcastle doubts about Moberley:[4] 'He has not succeeded as a schoolmaster. He is wanting in parochial experience, &c.' I again repeated my conviction that he was the man. No great vacancies since you went. Write again. Believe me, yours affectionately,

S. Oxon.

The concluding sentences of the Bishop's speech, in which he urged upon the Government the desirability of throwing open the Civil Service of India to the Universities, are here quoted.

It has been said that if the British Empire were to pass away, it would leave behind it the trace of fewer magnificent buildings than marked the sway of almost any other people who ever for a season exercised the right of empire over such a country. It was not much in the habit of the British people, even at home, to raise magnificent structures as emblems of their power and greatness. It was rather their vocation—and he thought it a higher one—to leave as the impress of their intercourse with inferior nations, marks of moral teaching and religious training, to have made a nation of children see what it was to be men—to have trained mankind in the habits of truth, morality and justice, instead of leaving them in the

[4] For the Archbishopric of Sydney which it was then in contemplation to create with metropolitan jurisdiction over all Australia.

imbecility of falsehood and perpetual childhood; and above all, to have been instrumental in communicating to them, not by fierce aggression and superior power—but by gentle persuasion, that moral superiority, that greatest gift bestowed by God upon ourselves, true faith in His word and true belief in the revelation of His Son.

As appears by the foregoing letter, the Bishop had proposed that when Convocation met on the 18th some business should be transacted. The Archbishop, however, was strongly opposed to such a course. On August 2 he writes, 'After giving due consideration to your letter on the subject of Convocation, I am under the necessity of deciding against your proposal, and shall not depart from the original intention and established custom respecting the meeting on the 18th, or do more than announce a further prorogation. I was not prepared for the opposition which our bills were destined to encounter.'

The Bishop replied as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lavington, August 8, 1853.

My dear Lord,—It is my earnest desire to fall in, whenever I can do so with a clear conscience, with your Grace's views in your high office, and as you so decidedly object to any consideration of business on the 18th, I will not attempt to resist your wish. But I trust that in at once conceding this to your Grace, I may be allowed to ask that your Grace will receive the notice I sent you for the 18th for the day on which, at the re-opening of Parliament, Convocation will reassemble, and will have no objection to our then, within the very moderate limits I proposed, discussing these subjects. On the subject of your Grace's bills I have had communications with Mr. Walpole, Sidney Herbert and Gladstone since

I saw your Grace. They all agree that the absence of some one absolutely ready to answer for the bills in the House of Commons was the cause of their loss. No one knows who moved their first reading and settled their second, and so caused that result, for Mr. Walpole was ready to adopt the second bill, and the first might have been provided for. I have reason to hope that, should your Grace approve, the Government will be willing to bring in the Bill as amended by the Solicitor-General early next session, and this, I am disposed to believe, would be the best course. I know not whether your Grace still takes in 'The Record,' but if so, you will probably have noticed its recent indecencies, charging your Grace with being duped by *my* arts. I cannot help believing that it would be easy for your Grace privately to make the repetition of these charges impossible, by communicating to the managers of that paper your estimate of their truth and Christian temper. To one who, with faults unnumbered, knows that he has deliberately sacrificed popularity and worldly advancement to a wish simply to do his duty, these charges are often very galling. I am, my dear Lord, your Lordship's affectionate and dutiful,

S. OXON.

The Archbishop replied on the 9th, saying he was 'afraid that there are subjects on which our views do not coincide, and that Convocation is and will continue to be one of them, as long as you desire its revival and I oppose it.'

The letter then goes on to say what has been quoted in the letter to Mr. Gordon, and refers to the Church Bills as follows : 'In regard to the two Bills, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. I find by a letter from Adelaide, that that diocese has dispensed with Imperial legislation, and made its own regulations in dependence on the local Legislature. It will be a happy thing if other dioceses follow the example, and save us the trouble of unsatisfactory deliberation.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lavington, August 12, 1853.

My dear Lord,—I am sincerely obliged to you for your kind letter of the 9th. I fear that there must remain one difference between us if your Grace disapproves of all approaches, however gradual, to the Church's exercise of her deliberative function; but I hope I do not understand your Grace that you have resolved, by what many of the best lawyers are confident would be an unlawful strain of your prerogative, to enforce your own views so far as to prevent your suffragans considering any matters at the meeting of Convocation, for I should indeed lament the struggle in which such a determination must too probably involve us. I can assure your Grace, though I am compelled to do so in strict confidence, that Lord Aberdeen does not take at all the view your letter seems to express as to our deliberations on the 18th. His objection was and is, to adjourned and continued sittings. My intended silence, therefore, on the 18th is entirely from deference to your Grace, but I am not sure that it would be right for me to maintain it then, as I had hoped to do, if your Grace were determined for the future to attempt, by the violence of a questioned prerogative (a course, you will forgive my saying, absolutely alien from your nature), to prevent all deliberation amongst the suffragans of Canterbury at their reassembling. I hope, therefore, that I may venture to ask for an expression of your Grace's mind on this point. Your Grace speaks of all such deliberation as an innovation: but may I ask you, on the other hand, to weigh this: that to attempt to prevent such deliberation when desired by the suffragans is yet a greater innovation, for that *no* instance of any such attempt by any archbishop is on record, whilst the distinction between deliberation at the first and subsequent assemblies of Convocation must, at the greatest, be only in degree and not in kind. I trust that your Grace will not think that in venturing thus plainly to express my opinion, I transgress in any measure the just limits of that

rule of dutiful deference under which your Grace's high office holds me, or that I am other than your Grace's dutiful and affectionate,

S. OXON.

The Archbishop replied on the 13th, explaining that he meant to refer only to the prorogation on the 18th, not to any future session and concluded by saying, 'I have no right to complain of what I sincerely regret, our difference of opinion; and am, affectionately yours, J. B. CANTUAR.'

The following correspondence with the Right Hon. Sir James Stephen is also referred to in the letter to Mr. Gordon of August 13.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. Sir J. Stephen.

August 13, 1853.

My dear Sir James Stephen,—You will, I am sure, allow me to address you with the freedom of familiar friendship on a subject which I wish to lead you maturely to reconsider, and in connection with which I believe you to have done, unintentionally, great injury to those high Christian interests which you would, I know, most wish to promote. I have now lying before me a copy of a letter of yours to Mr. A. Kinnaird, dated August 2, on the Missionary Bishops Bill, which, with your consent, has been widely circulated, extensively read, and which powerfully tended to prevent the passing of that Bill. Now what I wish first is to call your serious attention to some of the statements of that letter, which appear to me equally at variance with plain fact and Christian charity. You begin by stating that 'the professed object of the bill was to enable English prelates to consecrate British subjects to act as Bishops in any foreign or heathen country. But this was not the real and true object.' This is a grave accusation to bring against any men; it involves the charges of a crime which, if they had committed it, would

be pre-eminently disgraceful in the body of the English Archbishops and Bishops. But, as having been present when the Archbishop of Canterbury first proposed the subject for our consideration and on every subsequent occasion, I can confidently assure you that your insinuation is as utterly groundless as it is insulting. We had but one object in view, and that object we stated in Parliament—to make it possible for the Church to head her missions to the heathen where it was judged expedient, with English Bishops of English consecration. But you proceed to state why you impute this duplicity to us. It is 'because the 5th Vict. cap. 6 had already given us the power we professed to want, only combined with an oath which affirmed the Queen's supremacy. That we wished to establish an English episcopate which should not acknowledge the royal supremacy, and to effect this vast innovation had recourse to the arts of a special pleader, &c.' Now, the reason for your first charge and the inference you again draw from it are I am prepared to show equally mistaken and uncharitable. For the Act (5 Vict. cap. 6) does *not* give us the power that we want. For it requires that in every case of a consecration under it, the Queen should mark out the diocese in which the new Bishop was to officiate and this she could only do in one of these ways:—(1) As *in that act* giving authority to the Bishop to minister within a certain prescribed district to her own subjects settled in it, which would not meet our case, because our want was to constitute an episcopate for missions to the heathen and not for British subjects; or (2) the Crown must, like the Papacy, be supposed to have a power of spiritual aggression, and of mapping out dioceses where it has no jurisdiction. We deny that any such power vests in our Crown, and *therefore* we turned to the Act of George III. as coming nearer to our case. That act allowed foreigners to be consecrated for foreign service. The Act of George III. was therefore the most of the same subject-matter and we amended *it*. Your reason then is untenable. What then becomes of the charity of your imputation? Is this, let me ask you, the temper which 'hopeth all things'? Is this the measure which you

would wish meted to yourself? Is it not somewhat as if one said of you, 'Sir J. Stephen is the brother-in-law of Henry Venn. Henry Venn is the autocrat of the Church Missionary Society. He fears that missionary Bishops would supersede Church missionary committees and his own secret power. He would therefore prevent an English mission being headed by a Bishop, and he has called in Sir J. Stephen to his aid to help by calumnious insinuations to defeat the bill. I should have opposed Mr. Venn and his brother-in-law if they had openly stated their purpose; but when they endeavour to accomplish it by the arts of the special pleader, I will oppose them more strongly than ever.' I am sure that you would feel keenly the injustice and the uncharitableness of any one imputing such conduct or such motives to you; but would it really be more unjust or more uncharitable than your imputations against the Archbishop and Bishops of England, because they sought for legal power to head a mission of their Church in Borneo with one of their own order? I speak not now of the mischief which has resulted from your movement. But I cannot but believe that the time will come, when *you* at least will look with no satisfaction on the share you have had, in preventing the Church of England when she desired to send her highest ministers to spread the Gospel of Christ amongst the heathen, from obtaining the power needful for her doing so. I ought to have said above that no one could be consecrated Bishop under this act, who had not at his ordination as deacon and priest taken the oath of supremacy. I have ventured to write to you on this matter with the perfect openness which becomes our old and I trust deep regard. I have not disguised from you that I think your conduct in it wrong; but if there is one word in what I have written which seems to you inconsistent with the regard and high esteem which I entertain for you, I beg you to forgive and forget it. I am, my dear Sir James Stephen, very sincerely yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

On August 17 Sir James replied that, if he had

acted on the impulse of his own feelings, he should have at once replied; yet as his brother-in-law, Mr. Venn, was even more than himself directly the subject of the letter, he had waited to consult him. He then says :—

> You state that my letter to Mr. Kinnaird 'has been widely circulated with my consent.' I answer that till I received your letter I did not know and had never heard, that any one had ever seen it except Mr. Kinnaird himself, and that so far have I been from consenting to the circulation of it, that (unless my memory fails me) the terms of the letter itself distinctly forbid its being made public in any way, except by being shown to any person to whom Mr. Kinnaird himself might see fit to show it. That letter was written at his instance to enable him to render intelligible to Mr. Gladstone the legal objection which I entertained to the Missionary Bishops Bill. Having answered that purpose, I expected that he would destroy it. I have most certainly never authorised any other use being made of it. To the statement that I had 'insulted' the Archbishops and the Bishops of the Church of England collectively and passed an uncharitable judgment upon them, I answer that until I received your letter I did not know, nor, except on the authority of that letter, could I have believed that either of the two Archbishops, or that the great majority of the Bishops, were really assentient to the measure. From the newspapers I learnt, or think that I learnt, that no Bishop except yourself and the Bishop of Salisbury said one word on the subject in the House of Lords. How far I am likely to aim a meditated insult to yourself or at the Bishop of Salisbury (a total stranger to me), you can, I think, judge.

Sir James then says, that not having any copy of the letter, which was written in a hurry, he should be most deeply concerned to find that his language was an insult to anyone, and should be most eager to ask forgiveness.

For the rebukes which you address to me, I have to request you to accept my sincere and most earnest thanks. Plain, downright and grave censure is among the most valuable, as it is among the most rare, expressions of Christian charity; even when it may seem unmerited it will conduct a reasonable man to self-examination, and so perhaps, to the disclosure to himself of unsuspected faults, to penitence and to amendment.

The Bishop replied as follows :—

August 22, 1853.

My dear Sir James Stephen,—I only received your letter of the 17th on returning here from a day or two's excursion on Saturday after post time, or I should sooner have replied to it. I thank you sincerely for the kindness of its tone, which induces me to trouble you with a few lines in addition on its subject. I greatly regret that you did not obey the impulse of your feelings, and send me your full answer, because that would doubtless have explained to me the reasons of your hostility to our bill; and as I cannot believe that you —whose opinions I so well know as to the duty and policy of Bishops acting in the foremost van of the Church's work of evangelisation both at home and abroad—can be opposed to our object, I should then have been better able, on some future occasion, to see how we might avoid, in securing what we in common desire, that which you wish to avoid. Still less can I understand how H. Venn could be the main subject of your letter, since I only alluded to him and his connection with the question, to illustrate what appeared to me to be the unfounded charge contained in your letter to Mr. Kinnaird. As I gather from your reply that you have no copy of your letter, I enclose you a copy, which I will ask you to return to me. In its second sentence you will see that, whilst it forbids its *formal* publication, it specially permits its virtual publication 'in any other manner.' It was to this permission that I alluded. You speak of having no intention of insulting the Archbishops and Bishops, because you did not know that any of them except the Bishop of Salisbury and myself had

anything to do with it; you could not mean to insult them, one a friend and the other a stranger. As for me, I am sure you meant nothing at variance with the long, unwearied and undeserved kindness you have always shown me; as to the Bishop of Salisbury, you could, of course, intend nothing insulting. But, 1st, the newspapers stated that the bill was brought in by the Archbishop, who, in bringing it in, said that it was agreed to by all the bench and that its sole object was to enable a Bishop of the Church of England to head a mission. He was afterwards absent, on a confirmation, only because no opposition was expected to the bill. All this was reported in the papers. But further, your letter to Mr. Kinnaird speaks of it as having been introduced by 'the most reverend, &c. person.' Further, do the words of that letter justify my use of the word 'insulting,' as to the way in which it speaks of the author of the bill? I will ask you to weigh the words, 'Its professed object,' &c.—'but this was not the real and true object.' 'Being said indirectly,' &c. 'To have recourse to the arts of a special pleader,' &c. 'I suppose that he was put by others into the hands of some attorney,' &c., 'to aid the passage of the bill by any sort of dexterity.' Now, to one who values, as I do, truth and straightforwardness far above all other things, such expressions as these do appear to be distinctly insulting, apply to whomsoever they may. Nor, (though you introduce a possible attorney) can I conceive that they apply to anyone else than the framers of the measure. For the supposed attorney could not desire by this detestable fraud to get rid of the subscription to the supremacy. 'The Record' newspaper, with its accustomed vulgar effrontery of calumny (justifying your caustic remark concerning it that you preferred the 'Satirist' because it had as much personal slander without the religious sauce), charging upon me and other Bishops that we deceived the feeble Archbishop, seems to me really only to put into plain language your insinuation. Those articles the Archbishop has characterised as 'execrable.' But I must ask you, who so well know men and the House of Commons, to weigh for yourself what must have been the

effect of such a letter as this, not in the columns of an unscrupulous newspaper, which exists by pandering to the depraved tastes of a gossip-loving, so-called 'religious public,' but subscribed with your weighty name, handed about by a member of the House of Commons, and eagerly copied, quoted and circulated by the numerous class to whom the insinuation of grossly unfair dealings against a High Church Bishop is sweet as the whisper against the virtue of an envied rival to Lady Teazle. I am ever, my dear Sir James Stephen, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

Sir James Stephen's reply, though not preserved, may be inferred from the opening sentences of the Bishop's next letter to him, in which, after thanking him for his letter, he says: 'I thank you for the candid admission of the liability of your words to the injurious construction which had pained me; and the fulness of your disavowal of that construction is all that I could have expected or desired from you.'

The following extract from the Bishop's journal contains the first allusion to a controversy which, as will be seen from the subsequent correspondence, he endeavoured to check at the outset, and to soften at every subsequent stage.

August 18.—Morning in my own room, read and wrote. The news at breakfast of poor Emily ——'s danger. They set off to see her. I so oppressed by the coincidence of name, age 33, children 6. We rode and drove. I, Frank, and Georgie[6] riding, the rest driving to Brooke and then to Brighstone. Saw many of my old flock, and received by them affectionately; deeply affecting to be there, though calmed since last visit. A charming ride over the downs and all about; a

[5] The Bishop was staying with Baron Alderson at Faringford House, Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight.

[6] The present Lady Salisbury.

grand gallop. Called on Sir R. Simeon. Isaacson[7] dined with us ; a good deal of talk with him on island ecclesiastical affairs, clergy, &c. He complains of their great want of theology as the great evil ; right-minded men predominate, but are quite ignorant of theology. Read a great deal of Maurice's Essays, many striking things in them but I think a great deal of obscurity. I really hardly can discover in what sense he holds the Atonement—set me thinking much.

Professor Maurice was one of the Professors of Divinity at King's College, then a young institution, presided over by Dr. Jelf and governed then, as now, by a Council. Twenty-six bishops had signified to the Principal that they would accept candidates for holy orders from the College. Once already Professor Maurice's theological views had been questioned on the subject of Christian Socialism, and he then narrowly escaped the fate which befel him on this occasion. He published a volume of Theological Essays, *one* of which was the cause of the loss of his professorship. It was the only one questioned, although Bishop Blomfield thought others in the same volume were even more objectionable, and wrote to Dr. Jelf, saying, that while Professor Maurice held his chair, he (the Bishop) should decline to receive the College certificate as a qualification. It ought to be mentioned that the Bishop of Lichfield (Lonsdale) was not present at the Council, by the accidental miscarriage of the letter summoning him to the meeting ; he, however, wrote to Professor Maurice, saying, that he had great doubts whether he should have concurred in the decision of the Council, as, whatever the other members might have said, could only have affected his judgment 'on the question of the *expediency* of getting rid of you in deference

[7] The Rector of Freshwater.

to external clamour, and not my opinion of your theology.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Dr. Jelf.

Lavington, August 27, 1853.

My dear Dr. Jelf,[8]—Will you allow me the privilege of an old friend, a familiar address? I have heard with great alarm that there is some danger of Maurice's Professorship at King's College being endangered in consequence of his recent 'Essays.' Now I have read the greater part of these Essays and exceedingly regret their publication, continuing to be altogether at a loss to understand from them what Maurice does, and what he does *not* hold. If they stood alone, and if they were the fair sample of his theological teaching, I should think him so unsafe a teacher of youth that I should acquiesce with great pain in his removal. But viewing these 'Essays' (1) as the writing of a man whose views on the subjects here treated of have been repeatedly declared and shown to be orthodox in other publications; (2) as addressed for a peculiar purpose to a peculiar class (to partial unbelievers, or men in error, in order to show them that the objections to the Church which keep them in their errors do not really lie as they apprehend them against the Church), and therefore as no specimen of what his teaching of his pupils is—I do not see (i) that there ought to be such scandal as to his opinions as should lead to his sacrifice being necessary either for orthodoxy or for King's College; or (ii) that there can be any fear that he will be a false teacher of those committed to him. Now, if his removal or enforced resignation be not *needful*, I venture to say that I think it would be very injurious. (1) To King's College. Nothing can be much more important to such a young society, than that those who might become its ablest professors should feel that there is no danger of their being sacrificed to a mere popular cry. Now it will be universally believed that Maurice is *sacri-*

[8] Principal of King's College.

feed to 'The Record,' and this will inflict a blow upon your professorial body of which I cannot calculate the issue. I say nothing of the loss of his direct services to the College but I think it very great. (2) To the Church. The beginning of such strife is as when one letteth out water. Maurice has in these 'Essays' dealt with difficult and unsettled questions; or with the difficult and unsettled side of settled questions. Now on such matters as these it seems to me that the whole temper of the present day is alien to persecution, or the arbitrary infliction of merely stereotyped phrases. Once let such a course be begun, and though the yell of 'The Record' will be with you, it will be impossible to halt there; and the first act of persecution will entail a second and a third, which may take the very opposite directions, till we are all in confusion. (3) To Maurice himself. That it must be so, I need not stop to prove: but I do venture to suggest to you whether it would not, looking at what he is and what he has done, be an unjust inquiry. I have spoken with openness to your private ear and am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop failed, however, to alter Dr. Jelf's view of the case. On October 20, Professor Maurice wrote to the Bishop, enclosing him a copy of a letter written to Dr. Jelf, saying at the same time that, although he believed the Council would treat the question with all fairness, yet it seemed impossible to him that he should long remain at King's College. The Bishop, still hoping that something might be done to smooth matters and retain Professor Maurice, wrote the following letter :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Rev. F. D. Maurice.

Bray, Oct. 24, 1853.

My dear Maurice,—I thank you for the copy of your answer to the President's final letter which you sent me. I

have read it with the most anxious and I am bound to say, in some parts with the most painful interest. For there seems to me to be in parts a certain fierceness of expression which the kindness of his nature ought to have prevented and which, instead of conveying to its readers your truth, is too likely to prevent their seeing it. Moreover, I cannot but think that in contending for a truth you have been led into an exaggeration of its proportions. Will you then suffer me to try whether I can aid you to make that truth more plain. (1) What then I understand to be charged against you is this: That you teach 'that the revelation of God's love given to us in the Gospel is incompatible with His permitting any of the creatures He has loved to be consigned to never-ending torment; and that you therefore do, with more or less clearness, revive the old doctrine of the Universalists, that after some unknown period of torment all such must be restored.' Now, *I* do not understand you to intend to advocate any such view. What I do understand you to say, is this: That to represent God as revenging upon His creatures by torments through never-ending extensions of time their sinful acts committed here is (1) unwarrantably to transfer to the eternal world the conditions of this world. For that time is of this world; and that eternity is not time prolonged but, rather, time abolished; and that it is therefore logically incorrect to substitute in the Scriptural proposition for 'eternal death' 'punishment extended through a never-ending duration of time;' and that (2) as this is unwarranted so it is dangerous: (*a*) because by transferring our earthly notions of such prolonged vengeance to God, it misrepresents His character; (*b*) because as men recoil from applying to themselves or to others such a sentence, it leads to the introduction of unwarranted palliatives which practically explain away the true evil and fatal consequences of sin.

What I understand you to mean affirmatively to teach is this: (*a*) That the happiness of the creature consists in his will being brought into harmony with the Will of God. (*b*) That we are here under a Divine system in which God, through the Mediator and by the Spirit, acts on the will of

the creature to bring it into harmony with His own Will. (*c*) That we see in this world the creature, in defiance of the love of his Creator, able to resist His merciful Will and to harden himself in opposition to it; and that misery in body and soul is the visible consequence here of such rebellion. (*d*) That it is revealed to us that our state in this world is, so to speak, the seminal principle of what it is to be in its full development in that world which is to come, and that therefore a will hardened against His, must be the extremest misery to the creature both in body and soul; that this hardened separation from God with its consequent torments, is the 'death eternal' spoken of in the Scriptures,—the lake of fire 'where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched,' &c., of which we know no limits and from which we know of no escape; concerning which, therefore, it is unsafe to dogmatize as if it was subject to earthly conditions; and that in any contemplation of its horrors we must always contemplate God's exceeding love, and remember that He is striving through the Gospel to deliver every sinner from it who against his own sin will appeal to Him through Christ. (*e*) Finally, that to conclude that after a certain period of such sufferings God's vengeance would be satisfied and the lost forgiven future suffering, would be one phase of the error against which you wish to witness, and therefore as remote as possible from your teaching. Will you tell me as exactly as you can (i) whether I have rightly interpreted your meaning and (ii) if I have not, wherein I have mistaken it, (iii) and will you send me back this letter with your answer. You shall have it back if you wish it. I am, my dear Maurice, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

To this Professor Maurice replied on the 26th, saying—

I am more thankful, if that is possible, to your Lordship for your censures of my letter than for your full and most satisfactory exposition of its meaning. It grieves me very

much that I should seem to so kind and just a judge as your Lordship to have spoken any disrespectful words to Dr. Jelf. When all connection between us has ceased, I shall be most eager to ask his forgiveness for them. Why I took the tone which your lordship considers 'fierce' I think I can explain to your Lordship, though not perhaps to him. I had the greatest horror of seeming to evade his charges or to adopt any convenient phraseology which might make my opinions look more like his. After above two months of correspondence, after laying before him my private letters and talking, which I particularly dislike to do, of my personal history, I found that I had entirely failed to convince him that I had not a secret belief in opinions which I had solemnly disavowed, that I was not endeavouring to inculcate doctrines concerning the state of the wicked and impenitent which are at variance with everything I have ever spoken or written. I felt therefore, that I must, for the sake of my own sincerity, still more for the sake of the Church, clear myself from all suspicion of dissimulation by stating in the strongest manner that I did differ from him, and why I differed. I must apologise for making so long a statement. Nothing but my anxiety not wholly to forfeit your lordship's good opinion would have led me so to defend myself. I have now the much more grateful task of saying how entirely and unreservedly I accept your Lordship's statement of the principles which I have endeavoured to set forth in my Essays, and to defend in my correspondence with Dr. Jelf. I could not improve it by any alterations or additions of mine. I say this without the least qualification, and with the most hearty and deep gratitude to you.

The letter goes on to say that if this statement reaches any member of the Council, he wished at the same time to explain that he only considered the Bishop as explaining and not as modifying his opinions; if it was to be thought that it was a question of keeping his professorship, he would rather be silent; all he

wished was that good men should understand what he really meant.

The Bishop, fearing that the decision of the Council would be taken as directly condemning Professor Maurice's essay as heretical, and deprecating such a decision, wrote as follows to the Bishop of London.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of London.

Cuddesdon Palace, Oct. 26, 1853.

My dear Lord,—I venture to trouble you with the accompanying letters, one from myself to Professor Maurice, the other from him to me, because I think that they have a most important bearing on the question which is to come before the Council of King's College to-morrow. My own belief has been throughout that Professor Maurice is entirely orthodox, but that (1) the wish to meet the objections of others, and (2) the fear of shrinking from any personal consequences of the avowal of his opinions, (3) a want of clearness of expression, have given an appearance of unsoundness to his book. It appears to me that his reply to my letter strikingly confirms my view. Now I think that this declaration of his opinions on the matter selected for reprehension, ought to be in your hands before any step is taken. I will venture to say, further, that I think it difficult to over-estimate the importance of any step in the matter. If Professor Maurice is called on to resign his professorship for unsoundness of teaching, will it be possible to rest there? Can an unsound man be left to lecture at Lincoln's Inn? Must not the matter be followed up in the ecclesiastical courts? Would they confirm the judgment of the Council? At least ought not the Council to appoint a committee of divines to report on the book, express its erroneous teaching in propositions, and hear Mr. Maurice in his own defence before it pronounces such a censure—a censure which will represent the Church of England as defining very narrowly a question of terms, while it leaves

open such broad questions as the doctrine of baptism. I am sure that you will, on so important a matter, forgive an old member of the Council of King's College, for taking the liberty of communicating with you freely on the subject. I will only add in conclusion that I greatly regret the publication of much in this volume, because I think that it seems to unsettle what I am sure Professor Maurice would wish to have most firmly settled, but that this regret appears to me quite compatible with the doubts I have expressed in this letter. I am, most sincerely yours, my dear lord,

S. Oxon.

The following letter from Mr. Gladstone comes next in order.

Oct. 27, 1853.

My dear Bishop of Oxford.—I stayed for the King's College Council, but without effect. They have done the deed, *i.e.* declared Maurice's statements to be of dangerous tendency, and resolved that his connection with the theology of the college ought not to continue. I moved that the Bishop of London be requested to appoint theologians to examine, but in vain. Sir J. Patteson, Sir B. Brodie, and Mr. Green were with me. I imagine there will be no small uproar about this business. I hope you did not disapprove my suggestion. Always yours truly attached,

W. E. Gladstone.

Previous to this the Bishop had been in communication with Mr. Gladstone on the subject. On October 19 the Bishop writes, 'I am most anxious to prevent the hard and irritating censure of such a man as Maurice, when so many really unsound men go uncensured.' The answer to the above letter is given in full.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Nov. 2, 1853.

My dear Gladstone,—Many thanks for your kindness in sending me word of the decision of the King's College Council. I entirely agreed with every word you said and had indeed written to, I think, precisely the same effect to the Bishop of London. I wrote to Maurice and told him that I regretted the *tone* of his letter; and that I thought that its fierceness had prevented his conveying to the Council his true meaning. I then drew out what I conceived that meaning to be—which was no more than a protest against applying the conditions of this world to the world to come, so as to use them as convertible terms from which arguments could be logically deduced; and that he held as revealed that the next world, being the completer state of all that is seminal here, as we saw that sin here produced sufferings both in body and soul, we might be sure, *à fortiori*, it would there, where, so far as we could see, the moral state was fixed by the events of this state. To this he assented as a clearer statement of his own views. This I sent to the Bishop of London, urging strongly on him the very course you ultimately proposed, *i.e.* the appointment of theologians to examine the book, reduce its errors into propositions, and hear his defence before action. I am truly sorry that this course was not adopted. With my kindest remembrances, believe me to be, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

On November 1 the Bishop received a letter from Mr. Plumptre, one of Professor Maurice's co-professors and warmest friends. After announcing the decision of the Council, saying he knew the course the Bishop had taken in the matter, the efforts he had made, for which he says, 'all Maurice's friends are bound to love and honour you,' Mr. Plumptre goes through reasons which

he thinks ought to have prevailed, and finishes by saying :—

I have opened to you what I am compelled to keep concealed from most others ; but you have told me that you look on the bond of Ordination[9] as a real and permanent one, and I feel quite sure that you will neither wonder nor complain that in this deep sorrow, this enforced separation from the brother with whom I had hoped to continue working all my life long, I should turn to you as to one with whom the name of a Father in God is more than a formula, from whom I may certainly expect sympathy and, it may be, counsel and comfort. I am, your affectionate and grateful servant,

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

The Bishop's reply is as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Professor Plumptre.

Nov. 2, 1853.

My dear Mr. Plumptre,—I heartily thank you for the confidence which has led you in this great sorrow and perplexity to unbosom yourself to me. Would to God that I were more worthy of the kind words in which you speak of me. But in this grief what can I say to you ; little, I fear, more than that I sympathise heartily with you, and advise exactly that course of quiet waiting and working on which you have yourself resolved. I have all that admiration for Maurice and that confidence in him which you suppose ; and I feel the deepest sadness that such an one as he should have been thus dealt with ; yet I am bound to say that I have all along most deeply regretted the publication of this book ; for I am obliged myself to construe it by my former knowledge of Maurice and my full trust in him, rather than by its own text, which, *taken alone,* would on far more momentous subjects than that on which the Council have fixed, seem to

[9] Mr. Plumptre was ordained by the Bishop.

me to unsettle what I am sure Maurice would regard as settled. What I did with Maurice's answer was to send it to the Bishop of London with as strong an appeal as I could, urging him not to allow Maurice to be condemned thus obscurely and hastily; but that the alleged errors should be drawn out by theologians into propositions, and Maurice's answers to them weighed, before any step was taken. I urged also one most important member of the Council to be present; and he remained in town for the purpose and pressed this view on the Council and was defeated. All this (which is *all* I now know) I tell you in strict confidence. I think I ought to add that I am thoroughly convinced that Dr. Jelf has acted throughout, not from timidity,[1] but from a deep conviction of duty; and that I think his whole temper towards Maurice has been one of hearty kindness. This is at least better than if he had been cold-heartedly given up to newspaper threats; but it is little comfort enough, and I know at this moment of none, save that *sure* ground of peace, that God reigneth and will in some way bring good, out of all our vain strivings, for those who wait on Him. May God bless you. I am, ever yours,

S. Oxon.

In November the Bishop wrote privately to the editor of 'The Record' newspaper, as to the continual attacks made upon his conduct by that newspaper. An answer was received asking for proofs of what the Bishop designated as 'unworthy hostility.' The editor (the writer of the letter) further said, that nothing had been done intentionally in the way of 'suggesting evil,' and that he would feel greatly obliged if the Bishop would point out, or generally refer to, any instances of such conduct. The Bishop had said in his letter,

[1] Dr. Jelf in his reply to the Bishop's letter quoted above, said, 'I despise "The Record." I think the highest compliment it ever paid me was its abuse of me on the subject of Regeneration; that its praise, if it does praise me for doing my duty on this occasion, is my only ground of doubt as to the propriety of my course.'

that the Archbishop disapproved of the attacks of 'The Record,' to which it was answered that there must have been some misapprehension of the meaning of the Archbishop, and that his censure might have been hypothetical and not actual. The editor also said, that anything the Bishop wrote should be treated as private. The Bishop's reply, given below, justifies his conduct on several points, such as his membership of the Sterling Club,[2] one of the allegations being, that no grace was pronounced before or after dinner.[3]

The Bishop of Oxford to Editor of 'The Record.'

Nov. 1853.

Sir,—In reliance on your pledge of absolute confidence, I will reply in a few words to your last communication—1st. As to the opinion expressed by his Grace the Archbishop, I must remind you that I have no authority from his Grace to repeat it, and that it is only in the strictest confidence and to show you that those who agree with your general tone of theology disapprove strongly of your conduct in this respect; and so to induce you to listen with some respect to my remonstrance, that I even allude to it. But as you suggest that his Grace might be speaking hypothetically, I will give you the passage in his own words: 'The conduct of "The Record" towards the Bishop of Salisbury and yourself is "execrable." If Mr. —— were still living, I would have interfered and warned him of the injustice of such slander.' 2ndly. As to instances in which you have 'manifested an unworthy hostility to myself,' I really do not think that there is any one instance in which my name has been mentioned by you for many years, which would not furnish proofs of my assertion. I will

[2] Vol. i. p. 143 in notes.

[3] A member of the club has, in a review of Vol. I. *Fortnightly Review*, March 1880, Art. by Lord Houghton, contradicted this by stating that the Bishop himself pronounced grace after the usual collegiate form.

here merely exemplify my meaning by one instance. I know that the real circumstances of my belonging to the Sterling Club were at my suggestion fully explained, though not to the editor—that I joined it absolutely without knowing the late Mr. Sterling by name and dined as a young country clergyman perhaps twice a year at it for some years, never hearing one word of a sceptical tendency from any member; that its bearing Mr. Sterling's name was accidental, in no way intended to honour his opinions. Now, considering that all this was well known, and that whatever faults I have, a tendency to indifference as to scepticism is notoriously not one, I think your whole series of remarks on this subject manifests that untruthful hostility of which I complain, for they show that you think it lawful to attempt to injure by one set of charges a man whom on different grounds you esteem dangerous. Your unceasing endeavour to represent me as 'slippery,' &c., is an instance of your 'retailing accusation' for conduct of which you must approve. For that charge was brought by the ultra-Tractarian party when, having become convinced by a judicial reading of Dr. Hampden's book that Mr. Newman's extracts to which I had trusted were garbled, I dared to retract my steps so far as to say, that whilst I disapproved of his appointment, I was convinced there was no legal ground for proceeding against Dr. Hampden. Now this charge, so brought, you have taken every opportunity to insinuate and revive against one, of whom you must know perfectly well that, in maintaining what he believes to be the truth of Christ, he has acted in direct opposition to those views of worldly interest by which such a character is governed, and of whom you might easily have learned that he never left a friend in difficulty, never abandoned a principle, even in politics and far less in religion, because it was unpopular. Of 'suggesting evil,' I will give one instance in your recent remarks as to the Clewer House of Mercy. Your bitter attack on it turns on an imputation that the ladies who conduct it are 'under vows,' whereas it has been repeatedly stated that none such are allowed, and you might know by ordinary pains this. I have taken the greatest pains in

the rules of the association to provide not only that no vows shall be possible, but that no lady coming there shall be able to think she is 'drawing back,' if she sees afterwards reason to retire from her share in that work of charity. Yet you make your fiction of 'vows,' the occasion for suggesting the evil that I looked back with pleasure to the Popish founders of Eton, a peculiarly dastardly insinuation, because its sting was to be found in my grievous family afflictions; whilst you could not but know, that though you suppose Church principles lead to Popery, and therefore think me likely hereafter to become a Papist, yet of Popery itself I have ever expressed and shown my deep abhorrence—and that I could therefore look with no pleasure to the founders of Eton as Papists. In the same critique you furnish one of those other indications of this same spirit, which are perhaps most strikingly shown, as here, in things in themselves small. I alluded to our meeting being held on S. Andrew's Eve for a twofold purpose: 1st. To urge all present to pray on the next morning for our coadjutor Dr. Armstrong, then to be consecrated Bishop of Grahamstown; 2ndly, to press on them as the principle of our work the need of finding Christ for ourselves, and bringing our brethren to Him after the example of S. Andrew. Now of this Scriptural argument you would scarcely but for 'unworthy hostility' have said, with another intimation of Popery, 'we are not sure that we understand the Bishop's sentimentality.' But, sir, that of which I complain above all is, your unceasing efforts to divide my own clergy of all schools allowed within our Church—whom I desire to unite, quicken and help in their ministerial work—in habitually striving to render these men suspicious of their brethren and their Bishop. One *proof* of this may be found in the carelessness which led you into error about my rural dean's resignation; for you would not have inserted such an article against the Bishop of Winchester. Another may be found in your own charges, as, *e.g.* that I ignore the Church Missionary Society—a simple falsehood, since I subscribe to it, preach for it next month at Oxford, and divide my own parish subscription between it and the S. P. G.; another that I quitted the Pastoral Aid

Society because of its Evangelical tenets, when you know that I left it from my objection to a practical rule, which prevented the Bishop of London from joining it, and equally deprived it of the present Bishop of Manchester; and that I had abandoned my father's sentiments, which is utterly untrue. It is as to the lawfulness by Gospel rules of your conduct, in thus habitually trying to widen the breach between the different sections of Churchmen, and to lead them to distrust and hate one another, that above all I would beg you to examine both yourself and your words. I am quite aware that such a course as you pursue is for the advantage of your journal. But I would ask you solemnly to consider, whether any circulation obtained by embittering the minds of Christians against one another, is not a gain obtained by fearful wickedness. Grant for argument sake that the puritanical view is right, will Christ's cause in this kingdom really be promoted by the adherents of that view being taught to think all manner of evil of Churchmen, and to believe of each one who holds Richard Hooker's opinions, and shares perhaps some of his holiness, that he is a Papist in disguise, with whom they cannot lawfully co-operate, and of whom it is lawful for them to credit and repeat every uncharitable slander? Oh, sir, there is indeed a day coming, when to have lived by stirring up strife between Christians, will be no better a profession than to have lived upon the wages of prostitution. I am, yours, &c.,

S. Oxon.

In January 1854 the editor of 'The Record' replied in a long letter justifying his conduct, and a few sentences are quoted (1) to show the real feeling at that time of this organ, the mouthpiece, as it then was, of a large and powerful body of Churchmen, clerical as well as lay, and (2) to show in what the groundwork of their constant opposition consisted.

You observe that we consider you dangerous to the cause of Christian truth, because we believe you, as a High Church-

man, to have Popish tendencies. You have truly stated the cause of the difference existing between us, and of our conscientious opposition to your Lordship's public proceedings.

You firmly hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration; we as firmly believe that doctrine to be the taproot of Popery, to constitute its very *essence*. . . . We firmly believe that whoever believes in that doctrine is a Papist in reality, whatever he be in name, and that the salvation of his soul is thereby jeopardised. . . . I believe that your Lordship has mistaken the only true way of salvation, and that you are leading others into the false way pursued by yourself.

The editor further stated that Archdeacon Wilberforce's book, 'The Doctrine of the Eucharist,' was one of the examination books used by the Bishop for candidates for Holy Orders. The Bishop's answer is as follows :—

Sir,—There are but one or two remarks on your last letter with which I will trouble you. I. I am fully aware of the difference in religious views existing between us. I regard yours as the doctrine of the Puritans, mine as that of the Church of England as expounded by R. Hooker, whom in his day T. Cartwright and others assailed much as you assail me now. I did not blame you because by fair arguments you opposed my views but, because to oppose my views you habitually calumniated my character, perverted my motives and misrepresented my actions. II. I courted no comparison in holiness with Richard Hooker. I said that in your habitual attacks on all men who consistently maintain the doctrines of the English Church, you assailed those who shared the opinions and perhaps some of the holiness of Hooker. I spoke not of myself; but of a class. III. Amidst a multitude of absolute misstatements about myself, I notice one only—Archdeacon Wilberforce's work on the Eucharist has never formed one of my list of books for ordination candidates. IV. I did *not* insinuate that your opinions were maintained for lucre, but that you were under a strong

temptation to make your paper popular, by giving to it that low garnish of private slander in which newspaper readers delight, but which the Gospel of our Lord condemns. I do not see how remarks which I made in 1844 before my consecration and which, as I explained publicly in answer to your remarks at the time, were not intended to injure the Church Missionary Society, *could* nine years afterwards justify your imputation as to it. Finally, I have but a word to add —I believe that you may be saved in your Puritanism and, in spite of your denunciations, I can hardly doubt that you must really believe in the salvability of men who pray perpetually to be led by the grace of the Holy Spirit into all truth, and love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, even though they do believe that He vouchsafes in His own ordinance to grant acceptance and grace to those who receive Baptism rightly. Why then may we not, whilst we conscientiously resist what we deem each other's errors, love one another as brethren, instead of seeking to bite and devour each other?

September 5.—Letter from Robert announcing his coming, and most alarming intimation of the reason of his wish to see me before I went abroad. He came. A talk with him. Not quite so hopeless as I had feared.

September 6.—I rode with Robert; long and much talk, rather more alarmed again. He all affection and truthfulness, but strong on that point which seems to me logically to imply all; viz. that the authority of the Church supersedes the individual conscience. Alas! alas!

On September 8, the Bishop went for a short holiday on the Continent, returning to England October 6.

September 17.—To Munich, getting there about four. Dined at the table d'hôte, then off to see Dr. Döllinger. He welcomed me with extreme warmth, but I soon found that he took me for Henry, and explained the mistake; still he remained cordial, and we had much talk,—the reception of

Robert's book, state of religion in Germany, &c. He said that he hardly knew what to say as to relative morals of Protestant and Romanist Germany. More drinking in Protestant but, perhaps from other causes, more licentiousness as to illicit intercourse here ; strong on the advantage of confession, only tended to deaden conscience when used improperly. The Lutheran clergy lament their little influence over their people from the want of it. The way which the Josephine system had tended to destroy in Austria the Church's vitality. The extreme of a bureaucracy-loving government's interference. A parish priest wishing to use a more solemn form of benediction at a parish service than had been there wont, had to obtain government permission. The local government was armed with no power to give such allowance. So the case had actually to be reported to Vienna, leave obtained thence and reported ; weeks before the priest could alter his benediction. This had taught the priests to lean on the State. The present Emperor has announced his wish to give to the Church its own powers but as yet nothing very material done. The old clergy are for keeping all quiet and 'as you were.' The younger clergy who are at all in earnest are all the other way, hence a sort of breach between them. The Germans religious naturally, not above one Catholic woman in ten who does not confess. The roués and unbelievers do not, till a deathbed frightens them ;—though all careless men, before marriage, or a son's first communion, &c., will confess. The way in which a faithful minister inculcates that no absolution is worth anything without contrition in the absolved, and that contrition will not be given to those who have wilfully sinned against grace, prevents, in Dr. Döllinger's opinion, danger of their allowing themselves in sin, from a trust in final confession and absolution.

November 3.—Long talk with Arthur Gordon. Lord Aberdeen now growing to look upon Gladstone as his successor and so told Gladstone the other day. Cabinet shaky.

November 5.—Up early and to letters for early post. Then to Reading where service, then letters again till dinner.

Wrote to-day 67 letters with my own hand and very sorely tired.

December 10.—Morning at charge. Then rode with Carlyle and Lowe; on horse full of spirit round by Popham lane. Well shaken. Carlyle full of unconnected and inconsistent utterances. Full of condemnation of the present day, of its honesty, &c., &c., praising the Georges I., II., and III. for honesty and ability. A heap of discordant ideas. Yet a good deal of manhood, and of looking to some better state of being. Poor man, a strange enigma! If he did but see the True Man as his hope and deliverer, how were all his sighs answered!

The following letter of the Bishop's, addressed to Mr. Isham, was an answer to four clergymen, of whom two were rural deans, who addressed a joint letter questioning the Bishop's power in regard to the licensing of curates. It is given to show that the Bishop claimed an absolute right over such appointments. The signatories quoted certain cases in which they thought the Bishop's power had been unduly exercised. In one of those cases they alleged that the Bishop had refused to license, on account of the curate designate not agreeing with the Bishop's views on Baptismal Regeneration.

Dec. 20, 1853.

My dear Mr. Isham,—I deeply regret that you and your brethren should have sent me the letter which reached me with your signatures just at the beginning of my late ordination.

I have lived on terms of such friendly openness with you all, that you might have written to me with all the confidence of friendship on this or any other matter. But instead of this, you form yourselves into a sort of committee of inquiry, and talk of further steps, &c., &c Now to such a communication I can make no reply, because it would be to admit that the government of the diocese was with you and not with me, and that

you had a right to require me to purge myself of any charges, or fancied charges before you at your requirement.

I am bound therefore, in reply to your formal communication, to say that I think it one which you would not have sent, had you duly considered the relation which exists between us by the ordinance of God.

But to each one of you privately I am ready to say, what I should have said with pleasure had you asked me in a proper manner: (1) that I adhere implicitly to every word of my Charge in 1848; (2) that I am most careful not to infringe the just liberties of incumbents by refusing any reasonable nomination of a curate; and (3) that I never have required that their nominees should agree with me rather than with them on any points which the Church has left open; and lastly, that as to the three cases which you mention as instances in which the incumbent's reasonable wishes were thus disregarded, I have no idea to what you allude; that as to ——, the nomination of the curate was legally vested in me, and I received no nomination from the incumbent; and that as to ——, my objection to the vicar's nomination had no relation to the holding or not holding by his nominee of any particular views of doctrine, but was grounded simply on my conviction that he was not equal to the duties of the curacy. I am, &c., &c.

S. Oxon.

CHAPTER VI.

(1854.)

CONVOCATION—ATTEMPT AT PROROGATION—LORD SHAFTESBURY ABUSES THE BISHOP—SUCCESSFUL MEETING OF CONVOCATION—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH—DEATH OF BISHOP OF SALISBURY—DITCHER *v.* DENISON—THE BISHOP ACTS FOR BISHOP BAGOT—LETTER TO ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE—A SUNDAY AT LAVINGTON—CONVERSATION WITH PRINCE ALBERT—OPENING OF CUDDESDON COLLEGE—MR. BRIGHT ON CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT—THE BISHOP IN SOUTH WALES—HIS OPINION OF BISHOP THIRLWALL—ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE—THE 'ROMAN JEZEBEL'—THE ARCHDEACON RESIGNS HIS PREFERMENTS—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BROTHERS—SERMON AT LAVINGTON—LETTERS TO AND FROM THE ARCHDEACON—MR. GLADSTONE—THE BISHOP OF LONDON—THE HON. R. CAVENDISH—ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE JOINS THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Jan. 4.—Very heavy fall of snow in the night. Started for London (from Cuddesdon) with Bishop of Adelaide. The road stopped by a great drift; walked to beyond Wheatly. With Lord Aberdeen and settled about Convocation; no hindrance to one day's business, nor if need be to a second. Archbishop's note fishing for a Government interruption arrived whilst I was in the house; settled the answer to it. To Chapter Commission, then to Zoological; streets barely passable in a hansom, tandem. Down to Bearwood at night.

Jan. 7.—Cuddesdon. My dear brother the Archdeacon came, all affection as ever. But an air of sadness about him, and, I feel too, about me at our meeting, from fear of the possibility of a future how painful separation, which may our good God avert for Christ's sake.

Jan. 26.—Off after an early breakfast for London; wrote my projected pamphlet to justify Prince Albert all the way up. To the Ecclesiastical Commission, where Goulburn very irritable and rude to me for trying to see right done to Mr. ——. I am very fearful that there may have been something

provoking in my manner, but if so it was utterly unintentional God knows, and I tried to soothe and went and shook hands with him before I left, when he melted and spoke very kindly, but it left me sad. How I hate stirring up strife. I could lay me down and let all walk over me rather: so gladly. Then to Cathedral Commission. Bethell promised me Missionary Bishops Bill by Tuesday. The Archbishop told the Bishop of London, 'That no objection to a day's doing of business in Convocation. That we should therefore meet on Wednesday. That he supposed that we should receive report and appoint committees as before, &c.' Bishop of London said 'he spoke about it, so that I imagined he had seen *you*, and settled that it should be as you wished.' So unlike the truth, he having tried all he could and more than most would, to persuade Lord Aberdeen to use his prepared form of exoneration and extinguish Convocation. Down to Cuddesdon with Liddell, &c.

Mr. Gordon had written to the Bishop on January 13, as follows :—

Lord John asked my father the other day what he meant to do about Convocation? My father without answering directly, replied that he had settled it all. 'Have you seen the Archbishop?' 'No, not yet.' 'Because I understand the Archbishop does not mean, after all that has happened, to attempt to prorogue them at all, but will wait for your royal exoneration.' 'We shall find some way of settling it, I dare say;' and so the matter ended. I have no doubt whatever that my father will be able to reduce the Archbishop to reason, but it is as well that you should know.

Jan. 28.—A very busy morning, seeing separately all who were leaving. With Butler, who to give up the habit of penitents non-communicating, remaining during celebration, and about Liddon for my college. With Mrs. Monsell concerning management of Sisters—use of Roman books to be allowed or not. I settled not to be allowed at all as safest, though I believe and told her that practically I believe the adapted ones more dangerous. I trust this

gathering as to penitentiaries has really been much for good. May God bless it greatly.

Jan. 29.—Letter from Arthur Gordon with copy of Dean Elliott's mischievous letter to Lord John, and account of his and Shaftesbury's interview with Lord Aberdeen. Lord Shaftesbury's 'violent abuse' of me, God forgive him, 'disgusted Lord Aberdeen.' Much cast down in the view of Convocation, &c. difficulties; tried specially to seek for guidance and singleness of purpose and strength therefor—. Also prayer for Lord Aberdeen.

On Jan. 27, Mr. Gordon writes—

The Dean of Bristol is perfectly welcome to bluster so long as Lord Aberdeen and the Archbishop are agreed that there shall be discussion and that the writ shall not be got ready; they must however have discovered the form, for the Archbishop handed a draft writ to my father.

On the next day, January 28, Mr. Gordon writing for Lord Aberdeen says:

In answer to your questions into the details of the prorogation of Convocation he does not think it necessary to enter. He will only observe that though he has no wish for such a meeting, he will not object to the Convocation being *formally* assembled for the purpose of receiving the reports of the committees to be appointed on the 1st proximo. He does not wish to be understood as recommending a meeting before the close of the session of Parliament, but he authorises me to inform you that he will not interfere with any such prorogation as may seem good to the Archbishop and Bishops, provided it be to a distant date.

On the same day he writes.

You may readily imagine the mortification of both Lord John and the Dean at finding out that they are *too late.* Nothing could be more comical than the tone of vexation with which Lord John exclaimed, 'Do you mean the Arch-

bishop has consented to prorogue himself after all?' Shaftesbury was here this morning. I will not repeat his violent abuse of you, or his warnings as to the suspicion with which Lord Aberdeen would be looked on, on account of his communications with you. I am happy to say he quite disgusted my father.

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. A. Gordon.

Jan. 29, 1854.

. . . . . .

It is very painful to my nature, which craves for sympathy, to be violently abused even by Lord Shaftesbury; but I do truly believe that it is a load (and if so, oh! how light an one) laid on me for faithfulness to the cause of Christ; for I believe that if I had joined their following, they would have lauded me to the skies and opened easy paths for me to any heights in the Church. Still it always pains me, and if I thought he had prejudiced the honest and true heart of your father against me, I should have groaned again as I have groaned before in other cases, so that your concluding words as to his being disgusted comforted me. I have a second very curious letter from —— giving accounts of further interviews with Dean Elliott; in one of which he abused the Archbishop soundly, saying he would not stand by them or some such expression, cared for nothing, 'and was just like a mufti and would make an excellent Turk;' complimentary from a friend! You shall see it. It is gone now to the Prolocutor, who seemed rather too much disposed to trust this Dean. I must tell you as to the fate of the projected pamphlet[1] for which you so kindly sent me some materials. I wrote near forty pages of its first draught: but I then found the proof of the origin of the report[2] in *some* of the higher circles of the Derby party becoming so very clear; and my own indignation waxing so warm that I felt I could

[1] See *ante*, p. 228.

[2] That Prince Albert was using unconstitutional influence in the conduct of public affairs.

not write an episcopal pamphlet, and I felt a scruple of conscience in writing what I would not avow. I have never written anything since my consecration which I have not avowed or would mind avowing, and therefore have abandoned my work, though not without longing that some one else had taken up and executed its purport. Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Feb. 1.—After many prayers for God's guidance, restraint and blessing, to Convocation, where nearly all day, and D.G. most marvellously succeeded. The Bishops who heretofore had been our chief opposers moving and seconding our motions. God be praised whose work I believe it is.

One of the subjects at this meeting was a motion by the Bishop of London (Blomfield), to appoint a Committee to deliberate upon what steps ought to be recommended for the improvement of the constitution of Convocation. This was seconded by the Bishop of St. Davids (Thirlwall): the Bishop of Winchester (Sumner) concurring. Bishop Wilberforce in supporting the motion, said :—

A notion had got abroad that those who were anxious to restore at the small opportunities given to them, some synodical action in the Houses, were snatching a chance opportunity at these meetings to smuggle an expression as to what might be taken as the opinion and mind of the Church, from a body which, from its peculiar constitution could in no way be taken to represent the mind of the Church. Nothing could be further from them. The principle had been that alterations and adaptations of the Church's system were imperatively needed, that they could only lawfully be obtained by some internal synodical action of herself, and that there was no course open but to use the existing synod imperfect as it was, as a means of reaching to a more perfect representation of the Church. They did not desire the Crown to send its

licence for any other reform, than the reform of Convocation.

Increase of population and alteration of the laws and phases of society made some internal action needful. They had definite rubrics for ritual observances, but to carry them out literally in almost any populous district, would give rise to commotion and disturbance of the most fearful kind, and yet the clergy were bound by solemn obligations to observe those rubrics and to fulfil that ritual, and no dispensing power was lodged anywhere, and this was a yoke that was becoming intolerable to conscientious men.

It was absurd that there should be a great spiritual body, with a minute set of rules impossible to be observed, and with no dispensing power to allow for their neglect. It led to such outbreaks as we have seen, where lynch law, without its American justice, was endeavoured to be inflicted upon those of whom the worst that could be said was, that they had very unwisely endeavoured to be literally exact to the Church's rule.

Feb. 2.—Lord Aberdeen expressed to me very strongly his content at the doings in Convocation yesterday.

On March 7 the Bishop, writing to Mr. Gordon on the appointment to a then vacant deanery says, 'I am sure it is of very great moment whom you make deans, they are so near Bishoprics for *other* ministers.'

March 8.—Received the heavy news of the death of my dear brother and close friend, Edward Denison of Salisbury. What a blow to the Church! What a loss to me!

March 15.—To London. Zoological Council, then to Convocation Committee at London House; on the whole did business in spite of Dean Elliott. Interview with Arthur Gordon. Blunt refuses.[3] Settled that best on the whole to let Bishop of Salisbury's letter have its weight,[4] and push for

[3] Bishopric of Salisbury.

[4] Bishop Denison a few hours before his death wrote to Lord Aberdeen urging that Canon Hamilton might succeed him.

Hamilton. A. G. told me he would try and get the canonry for Trench; he also said that Lord Aberdeen thought of offering me Durham.

March 22.—After breakfast and letters off in a carriage for West Hendred *viâ* Wantage. A pleasant Confirmation. Went over the Church repairs with Rector and Churchwardens. Saw East Hendred Church, and so by Wantage, whence walked up the hill with good Butler to Woolley.

In August 1853 Archdeacon Denison, for reasons which he has explained in 'Notes of my Life,' preached the first of three sermons on the doctrine of the Real Presence, with the avowed intention of challenging public inquiry; he was at the time examining chaplain to Bishop Bagot (Bath and Wells), who was in failing health, and for whom Bishop Spencer (Madras) was acting under a commission. The doctrine contained in these sermons was challenged, ostensibly by the Rev. Joseph Ditcher, but really, as will appear in the sequel, by a party known as the Evangelical Alliance. In the beginning of February of this year Bishop Bagot wrote to Bishop Wilberforce, secretly committing the matter to him, for the peace of the Church: an entry in the Diary—

Feb. 8.—To lodgings to meet Judge Coleridge, Bishop of Salisbury, Robert Phillimore, and Mr. Davies,[5] concerning G. Denison's threatened prosecution. Two hours' discussion ended in agreeing that I should write a letter for him to Mr. Ditcher, and that R. Phillimore should prepare one for the Archbishop. Wrote mine.

Again, on March 2 the diary records:—

Curious interview this morning with Bishop of Exeter: he said he *knew* that the opposing lawyers most dreaded Arch-

[5] Bishop Bagot's secretary.

deacon Denison's pleading in person. I succeeded in alarming the Bishop as to the issue of the contest, and he promised to frighten Denison.

The Bishop thus writes to his brother the Archdeacon :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Rail to Maidenhead, March 2, 1854.

My dearest Brother,—How did you know that *I* had given *any* advice about the Denison matter? I am deeply anxious about it. I cannot but greatly fear that, if the trial comes on before Dodson, he will try the *case* on the baldest Act of Parliament interpretation of the Articles, Title and all; that he will be cowed by public clamour, and give a judgment against not only Denison, but the Church's doctrine; and that, it having once been given, we shall not get it reversed; and that the Church of England will seem to be committed to Low doctrine, which she does *not* teach, as to this Sacrament. Now if we on the other hand, could win a few years, for your books to leaven the mind of the Church; and then, when a sentence was to be called for, and not against a man like Denison, whom everyone esteems fair game for any persecution, we might get a true interpretation of the teaching of the Church. Then I fear that it should now come to the Court of Appeal, because I am afraid that the Bishop of London is committed by a letter to Bishop Spencer. You alone have influence in this matter with Denison, and I beseech you my beloved Brother, for the Church's sake and the Truth's, that you use it to induce him to endeavour to prevent a trial. If the Bishop of Bath and Wells *should*—before issuing letters of request — write to Denison to ascertain his view, what I want is that Denison should reply, not by re-stating the Catholic side of the doctrine, but on that side —simply saying that he adheres to all he has put forth and then addresses himself to show that holding that truth, he can subscribe our Articles and can condemn Rome. My

hope would be that if he did this heartily, the Bishop of Bath and Wells might be able to stave off the trial. I am just starting on a Confirmation tour.

Your most loving brother,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

March 24, 1854.

My beloved Brother,—I cannot see the force of your argument as to not letting Denison be taken into a Court. Of course, if the Church of England were to meet and consider the Question, I should see a great deal of weight in your argument. But the Question is not at all that. It is—Shall the formularies which the Church has deliberately put forth be subjected at one moment to the interpretation of one particular Court under particular circumstances? Now this question seems to me to be subject to quite other laws. It may be that God's overruling Providence is preventing the Church being injured by a misinterpretation of her laws, by preventing this Court at this time deciding the Question, and I may be the Instrument which He is using. If indeed the Court did decide wrongly, I should say as I said in the Gorham case, this does not really bind the Church; and instead of despairing at all, I should in such a case hope that He would over-rule it, as I cannot but see that He has the Gorham judgment, to awaken His Church to the truth and the importance of the truth. So that I should apply your argument on *this* side—for it seems to me to apply, when God by His providential Government *has* declared His Will. But, whilst that verdict is as yet unspoken, as He works out His designs through us, it seems that *we* are to consult and act our *best* for the Church, leaving the result to Him.

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. Arthur Gordon.

April 6, 1854.

My dear Gordon,—You will, I think like to read the enclosed for the interest of the case. But I have a further

reason for wishing you to do so. Lord Ashburton who takes a great interest in these matters, asked me on Friday last how matters stood in this case. I said, 'likely I think to be kept out of court unless the Archbishop forces it into one.' He said, 'but surely he might on that subject have a remonstrance from Government,' and he urged me strongly to acquaint Lord Aberdeen with the whole matter, that he as custos of the public peace, might impress upon the Archbishop the ruin of stirring up a litigation on this mysterious subject. I doubt whether he could do anything, and yet perhaps he might. I leave it entirely at your option to show him these letters, or read any part of them you please to him or not. You will remember how diligent certain persons were in talking about marking the troublers of the Church's peace.[6] The further progress of the case has been this. Denison has under strong coercion—brought about I will tell you some day how —given a mild and useful answer. We shall now doubtless advise the Bishop of Bath and Wells to refuse to prosecute; and the question then will be whether the Archbishop will actually issue his commission, or recommend an application to the Queen's Bench, or work the 'Record' newspaper, or counsel peace.

The Hon. A. Gordon to the Bishop of Oxford.

April 7.

My father will speak to the Archbishop. May God guide the case to a peaceable issue.

On the 15th he writes again:—

My father saw the Archbishop again this morning, and pressed him strongly *re* Denison. The Archbishop said, 'Only let him do anything that looks like conciliation, and I will do what I can,' or words to that effect. This is surely important, for now if Denison makes any concession, my father may pin the Archbishop to his promise.

[6] See p. 169.

The Bishop's reply was immediate, saying—

You will see by the enclosed letter that no time is to be lost in Lord Aberdeen's application of reason to our Primate, if the mischief is to be prevented. The Protestant Alliance are his pushers on.

On April 16, Archdeacon Denison received Bishop Bagot's opinion on eight propositions, which the Archdeacon had drawn up and which contained all the points made in the sermons. The opinion acquitted him of having maintained in those propositions anything contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, and stated that the Bishop declined to institute legal proceedings.

The following letter was written by Bishop Wilberforce on behalf of Bishop Bagot :—

My dear Archdeacon,—I have carefully considered the statement of Doctrine which in compliance with my requirement you have sent to me ; and I proceed now to state you my judgment hereon.

This I shall perhaps make most distinct by first laying down what on this subject matter I understand to be the authoritative teaching of our Church, and then pointing out to you anything in your statement which in letter or in spirit appears to me to vary from it.

1. Then I understand our Church to teach positively, as she has received from God's Word and Primitive Antiquity, that in the Holy Eucharist, as a consequence of the Institution of Christ there is by the working of God's Almighty power a real though spiritual presence of the Body and Blood of Christ.

2. That of this Body and Blood of the Lord, the faithful worshippers when they eat and drink the consecrated elements are made partakers to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls.

3. That the unfaithful receivers of this sacrament do not

in partaking of the elements partake of Christ; but, receiving the sacrament unworthily 'thereby purchase to themselves damnation.'

On these points there is, in the words of your statement 'no room in the formularies of the English Church for two interpretations of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.'

As to the mode of that Presence, of which she asserts the reality, the Church of England declares nothing, except that she condemns the explanation given of it by the Church of Rome in the doctrine of Transubstantiation and she appears to me to discourage speculations concerning it.

Now trying your statement by these doctrines I rejoice to find; 1st. That you solemnly reaffirm all the doctrinal statements of the Church of England as your own; 2nd. That in your statement you declare the three positions laid down by me above to be THE positions which in your sermons you intended to enforce; and 3rdly. That you distinctly condemn the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Still I regret to say that you appear to me in your sermons to have fallen into the error of allowing yourself to speculate as to the *conditions* of that supernatural presence, with asserting the *reality* of which your Church has been wisely contented. And in doing this you appear to me to have spoken as if you could reason concerning a supernatural presence as if it was subject to natural laws. Further you have in my judgment been led into the error of requiring assent to your 'opinion' hereon, as if it was the dogmatic teaching of the Church.

The question then before me is this; are these errors, as I esteem them, of so grave a character as to render it my duty to allow my office to be used to promote an attempt to eject you from the ministry of the English Church? Now as to the first of these, though I esteem your opinion erroneous; still it does not appear to me to be one which the Church has censured; for I agree with you that the error which she censures in the 29th Article is that the Body of Christ is received to the profit of the receiver *ex opere operato*. Regarding then your opinion on this point as to one to the truth of which I cannot subscribe, and which regards a deeply

mysterious matter as to which I deem it far safer not to speculate; I still view it as one uncensured by the Church, and I do not consider it to be my duty to seek in our Ecclesiastical Courts an authoritative decision thereon, and thereby to narrow the terms of communion in our Church.

As to the second error I have noticed. I see with much pleasure from your statement to me, that you admit 'that it is not for you to say what statements of doctrine may or may not justify exclusion from the ministry,' and I trust therefore that without my having recourse to any further steps, I may rest on the assurance that you will herein submit yourself to my judgment, when I admonish you as I now do that whilst you are at liberty to hold yourself as a pious opinion any explanation of the Real Presence which the Church of England has not condemned, you abstain for the future from all attempts to enforce the acceptance of your own opinion as the condition of holding faithfully the doctrine of the Real Presence itself.

On May 11 Bishop Bagot died; consequently Bishop Wilberforce had no more to do with the case.[7] Later on mention will be made of this case again, but then, on public grounds, viz. as it affected the peace of the Church.[8]

March 25.—Wrote to dearest Robert touching his book, trying to convince him that instead of affirming the Real Presence, he is accounting for the *mode*.

[7] Lord Aberdeen in translating Lord Auckland from Sodor and Man to the see of Bath and Wells stipulated that he should 'neither persecute Mr. Bennett nor prosecute Archdeacon Denison.'

[8] The whole history of this case is set forth in the book referred to above, *Notes of my Life*, by G. A. Denison, and published by Parker.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

March 25, 1854.

My beloved Brother . . as for the matter in dispute. The more I think of it, the plainer it seems to me that this is a mere opinion touching the *mode* of the Real Presence. Nor do I think that it in any way more really affirms that Presence than does the ordinary belief. For after all, the reply to the objection of an animal eating the consecrated elements—that it is revealed to us what they are to a man's nature, but not to a brute's,—must imply either that they are supernaturally fitted to be the vehicles to man of conveying what they themselves are not, which is *my* solution; or that the Presence once granted is withdrawn, which is the solution most warmly argued against. So that it seems to me that he and you (I say it with a very sincere self-distrust) confound when you come to argue on this matter, the assertion of the reality of the fact of the Presence with the opinion as to what is necessary for such reality which you have formed, and which *reality* your mode of reasoning about it seems to me to treat as being a natural reality, to be argued about according to natural laws, *e.g.* that if once the Presence is there, it must remain unless it is withdrawn. Now all this seems to me to be really supposing that the Presence is, if *real*, subject to the ordinary laws by which the presence of a material body is governed. Now if on the other hand, without defining anything as to the *mode* of Presence, we merely assert that the Presence is supernaturally effected to the salvation of the worthy receiver, and the condemnation of the unworthy, how is the truth endangered? Do, my most beloved brother, weigh this. I find the deepest minds, and the best read men I know differing from you on this point. I am ever your most entirely-loving Brother,

S. Oxon.

And on the 31st he writes again:—

My beloved Brother,—*The* point in your kind letter as to which I am in doubt, seems to me this:—Do you mean that

you worship the *Person* of Christ, as having revealed to us that He is very specially really present after the Consecration of the Elements? or do you worship a *part* of His Body? or what? as locally present. Surely all we know is this—that He is most really present, and does supernaturally communicate to us the partaking of His Body and Blood, through our faithful partaking of the consecrated elements. The Denison case is still proceeding: at present the Bishop has communicated to him the *Articles*, and called on him for an answer. Your ever-loving brother,

S. OXON.

Easter Sunday.—To Graffham Church; afternoon, walked with all the boys over the hill and buried the bottle.

For many years the Bishop's favourite Sunday afternoon walk was up the hill, under which both Lavington and Graffham lie, through a wood on the top, in the centre of which, the highest point on his property, the Bishop had erected a lofty wooden structure, known as the 'Gazebo,' originally eighty feet high but reduced in later years to forty. The Bishop used to ascend this, glasses in hand, to enjoy the vastness of the view on a fine clear afternoon. Beachy Head, forty-two miles distant to the eastward: Reigate Chalk Pit thirty-five miles to the north; to the south and east, Spithead, with the whole Isle of Wight from Dunnose to the Needles, were clearly visible. The view over, the Bishop and those who were with him were accustomed to go a short distance further on to the open down. There, on a fine day, the 'Christian Year' for the Sunday was read; then from the Bishop's pocket a bottle would be produced (*i.e.* if the old one was broken), then a card; the names of those present written on it, a cork put in and the bottle buried under a small cairn of stones. If it

escaped till the next visit another card was put in; if not, a new bottle replaced the old one. This particular bottle, the only one in which *all* his sons' names were written survived a long time. It was unbroken in the summer of 1876.

On April 29 Mr. Gordon writes, saying :—

A Scotch Dean has written to my father, calling his attention to the exclusion of Scotch Episcopal Clergy from preferment in England. To my surprise, instead of a dry answer my father has returned a very gracious reply, and tells me he has a great inclination to desire the Archbishop to bring in a bill on the subject. Please let me know what you think of it.

April 30 the Bishop replies :—

As to the Scotch Clergy I think it would be most desirable to make use of Lord Aberdeen's inclination; and surely it might be most safely done thus. By his desiring the Archbishop to consult with the Bishops and return him an answer as to the degree and mode in which the present disabilities affecting Clergy in Scotland and America, and not applying to Roman Catholic Priests ordained there and conforming, can be most safely removed. If he did this with a strong intimation to the Archbishop that in his judgment something effectual ought to be done, we should go safely and I hope successfully, into the business.

May 4.—A long interview with the Prince, a very interesting conversation with him about Lord Aberdeen. He said, 'Lord Aberdeen is the most entirely virtuous man I know. He has *all* the virtues I think. He is very courageous, he is perfectly honest, he is entirely true, he is munificent in his kindness, he is most forgiving, entirely putting out of his mind the memory of great wrongs, and he is most humble even to meekness in his estimate of himself. All that can be said against him is that he is wanting in imagination, and rather does not like it.'

May 14, *Sunday*.—To Lambeth for the consecration of Bishop Hamilton: an excellent sermon preached by his Chaplain Drury. What he said of Bishop Denison moved me to many tears. He had laid hands on me, as I was now doing on his successor in that place. My own deficiencies pressed on me with an overwhelming weight.

May 20.—Up early and to Church, then letters. Breakfast at Mahon's—G. Grey, Macaulay, Duke of Argyll, Lady Craven, Van de Weyer. Macaulay in high spirits and great force. Got on rather new topics. Dutch words, writings, and annals. Courier and his merits, &c. Van de Weyer told about the poor Frenchman after the Revolution. 'Where do you dwell?' 'Rue St.——.' 'Il n'y a pas de Saint.' 'Rue de ——' 'Il n'y a pas de De.' 'Rue No. 6.' Walked home with Macaulay, trying to get him more on religion—'God' and causality. . . . In the evening to Lord Rosse's, where the Prince.

May 22.—Breakfast Van de Weyer's. Macaulay, Milnes, Milman. Conversation chiefly literary. Macaulay's great preference for Sophocles as well as Æschylus over Euripides. Euripides would stand higher, had we only seven of his. He with me, far prefers the Bacchæ to any other of Euripides. Then to Geographical Society, where spoke. Then to Committee on Prince Albert's statue; agreed to consult all subscribers. Home with Lord Robert Grosvenor. Then to House of Lords on Nuisances, &c.; dined at Lord Lansdowne's.

The diary of June 15 records the opening of Cuddesdon Theological College, one of the 'things which the diocese needed to have done for it.'[9] In the original scheme the Bishop had designed to build it within the Palace grounds. With this site, and with the donations in hand, he could have begun at once, and with a very competent Vicar of Cuddesdon (Rev. A. Pott) as principal might have launched the

[9] Vol. i. p. 349.

institution in a few months. This course was abandoned in consequence of a representation made by a few Clergy suggesting a reference of the scheme to the Rural Deans, with a view of making the Institution more diocesan and less dependent on the good will of future bishops. The Bishop's eager spirit chafed under this seeming delay, he being so strongly convinced of the necessity of such a seminary. The acquirement of a site, and the settlement of the needful trust enforced a tiresome delay. But those who had caused it[1] were never regarded by the Bishop other than as honest counsellors who had acted under the friendliest motives. Before giving the Bishop's account of the day on which his hopes were realised, it seems well to quote the following 'suggestions' to the students as to the object of the Institution—the benefits to be derived by them from a residence in it—as they appeared to the mind of the founder.

I. Threefold object of residence here—1. Devotion. 2. Parochial Work. 3. Theological Reading.

II. Aids to be given—to Daily Prayer. Opportunities of private seclusion. Constant access at all times to the Bishop and the Principal.

III. Aids in learning Parochial Work—Schools. Visiting. Sermons. Missionary Meetings.

IV. Dangers as well as advantages in Collegiate Life—The habits of lounging. Waste of time. How such habits will bear upon future ministry. Habits of self-denial to be learned here.

V. Shortness of the residence of some makes the amount of reading necessarily small. Sketch of studies—Scripture. Pearson and Hooker. Apostolic Fathers. Such lectures as may be obtained from occasional Lecturers.

[1] This is the testimony of one of them.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
NOTTINGHAM.

VI. Great importance of *conduct* in the eyes of others. The *Village* and *University Men.*

June 15.—Early Communion in Chapel, eight Bishops present. Thank God. The Bishop of London helping in celebration with me. Then the opening, at which Thank God all went off excellently well. I could see that the attendance produced a marked effect on the minds of the other Bishops. At night—I having prevented my health being given after dinner—the Bishop of London gave it with most kind words in the drawing-room. Austen Leigh answered most feelingly and affectionately.

Part of the following letter to his brother is on the same subject.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Fulham, June 18, 1854.

My beloved Brother,—The opening of my College went off excellently. Indeed I do not see how it could have been better. We were 8 Bishops at the early Communion: 250 clergymen in surplice, and some out: 400*l.* collected. All the Bishops spoke, *sub dio*, to the assembled people, and well and heartily. We now want pupils, and all will, please God, go well. The Bishops were most manifestly impressed, greatly with the spirit and harmony of *the diocese*. May God be praised! To you I may say that I felt so utterly prostrated with a sense of unworthiness to bring such a scheme to good success, that instead of elation, I know not when I have felt so depressed. I want you to tell me your judgment on the view concerning Spiritual powers which your official keeps continually pounding into us. Does he mean that Bishops can and ought to assemble the Synod of their Dioceses, to decide on anything or do anything? and do you think they can? Is he right in your judgment, in identifying Convocation with a mere ecclesiastical gathering under a civil rule, and having no spiritual function? Is he right in

maintaining that the principle of representation is fatal to all synodical character? Will you tell me your view on these points? God bless you, my dearest Brother. I am, ever your most affectionate,

S. OXON.

June 25.—Up at 5.30 to get sermon ready for afternoon, having more or less all the week been thinking of it, 'Give an account of thy stewardship.' I have found this decidedly useful to me this week and will try it again. But it is very hard in the hurry of London to write. Preached it with a good deal of interest to a very full congregation.

July 18.—After breakfast to one or two Convocation Committees, where all the discussion as temperate, loving and considerate as one would desire and pray that it might be. Sat till 6.15. Then to House and afterwards dined with Monckton Milnes, a curious party—Duke of Newcastle, Lord John Russell, Sickles the American Secretary, John Bright, Dr. Twiss. Many M.P.s, I between John Bright and Wilson Patten, much amicable talk and a little sparring. Bright said that Cobden was getting quite High Church as he thought there was most reality in it. Then assaulting the superior honesty of English Governments. Lord John defending. 'They were altogether right and you were entirely wrong.' Discussion about Secretary of State opening letters. Done often to intercept forgery. Most rarely on political grounds. Had been done, Lord John was not quite sure whether by himself or by Lord Normanby, when the Monmouth riots were expected—some Chartists giving information, 'as they always do,' that the letters if intercepted would show all the plot.' Lord John justified it 'to prevent bloodshed.' John Bright: 'The danger is a minister thinks there is *public* danger, when there is only danger to his Government. I cannot help quarrelling with him in the House of Commons. I once asked Sir Robert Inglis—Now may I put an odd question to you, but a plain one? He assented: it was after one of his Church and State speeches. I said, "Do you really believe what you have said?" He put his hand

on his heart and said in his softest and most moving manner, "Upon my conscience I do." I have very much altered my views about the Church Establishment since I came into Parliament: I think Dissenters ought not to attack it. I said at first, whenever it begins to act as if it had life it will go to pieces. Now I think the living party in it, as it works itself out, will see of themselves that the State is a hindrance to them.' About the opening of letters Wilson Patten said, the Duke of Wellington said, 'Have the French pretended that they do not open letters?' 'Yes.' 'Then I will prove to you that they always do. At the time when Guizot pretended that they never did, we had proof that they opened all letters.' The Duke of Newcastle: 'Sir James Graham really opened Mazzini's letters on information which led to the belief that a great act of violence and bloodshed might be prevented by it. The American Government opens most freely all letters.'

July 19.—After breakfast, and seeing clergy &c., to the Committee of Convocation. Discussed with much brotherly love and care the various details of report, and finally agreed on it. Went with the Bishop of London to Meeting at the Mansion House for S. P. G. The Lord Mayor spoke excellently well for a Lord Mayor; the Archbishop of Canterbury like himself, good, gentle, loving and weak; the Bishop of London good stuff—never, except perhaps once, rising into oratory; the Bishop of New Zealand [Selwyn] so as to disappoint me, but some good after; the Bishop of Grahamstown (Armstrong) said a few moving words from his warm loving heart—may God be with him; I spoke and kindled a little in speaking, having begun with great difficulty.

July 20.—To Convocation; all passed most amicably. The Archbishop's opposition appears to be very greatly modified, but his extreme gentleness makes it difficult to be sure of his inner feelings; the Bishop of Winchester still opposing on the merest obstructive principles. The Bishop of Lincoln *fearing* the unpopularity. Then down to Chalfont Park, where kindly received by all.

July 21.—A beautiful morning, wrote with Archdeacon

Bickersteth, then after breakfast to Church. The Park very beautiful this lovely morning; fat, black trout hanging in the clear chalk stream under the bridge arch. Rabbits abounding. The trees very fine. The service interesting. The Church a marvellous instance of Street's cleverness. After a rather speedy luncheon, to the House of Lords to attend the Convocation debate: the Bishop of London moved for reports well; Lord Shaftesbury sat opposite, but would not show fight: so after a difficulty from Lord Ellenborough being over-ruled, the matter passed. Lord Harrowby came to me —said he *could* not rise when there was *no* opposition.

July 31.—I with dear Carter—a long talk about Clewer; pressing continually on him. I care not so much as to what the Sisters now are—such a mode of life naturally attracts Puseyites and Ultras—but what are we going to hatch out, true Church of England women or not?

On August 3 the Bishop, his three sons and Mrs. Sargent, went to Tenby in South Wales, stopping at Llandaff for two or three days, and then visiting the Bishop of St. David's (Thirlwall) at Abergwilly.

August 6, Sunday.—The Bishop of St. David's preached a characteristic sermon, suggestive, thoughtful. A good deal of talk with him after about prospect of religion in Wales, he very hopeless. Williams at Aberystwith and a Mr. Raikes in Brecknockshire have tried the High Church way and it has failed. The very low quite fails. Dissenters out-preach them. The moderate best, where they follow, it is for the man, not the system of Church.

From Tenby the Bishop writes to Mr. Cavendish as follows:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. R. Cavendish.

Tenby, August 16, 1854.

My dear Cavendish,—Many thanks for your very kind letter of August 11. I have brought my boys down here for

a fortnight's sea-bathing, which is just coming to an end, as on Saturday night I am to be with them at Cuddesdon. Thence I am going after a few days' work to Lavington. I have been rather knocked up and suffering in my head, but I am already better. I am in continual sorrow about my beloved Brother: he has said little to me of late. But I fear from the hints he drops, that his present work on the authority of the Church, is removing him farther from quietness in our Communion, and that though he will wait quiet to the end of all attempts against him, he is *not* more established. I can hardly bear, my very dear Friend, to contemplate the future. All I can do is to be perpetually praying for him, and as God has kept him so long from any step of evil, to trust that one so pure and holy and truly self-mortified, may yet be kept from such a fall. I hope you will come and see us at Lavington. Could you have me at the *very* end of September? Your ever most affectionate,

S. OXON.

August 18.— Up early: walked down to the shore under St. David's Head and mounted the Cairn Hill—a grand view of the sea—rocks, island of Ramsay, intermediate Sound. Two ravens whirling and soaring over the Cairn—longed to throw my strong impressions as to this place into verse. A long talk with the Dean: he says the Clergy are proud of their Bishop's reputation for scholarship and ability, but do not like him—no prejudice against his opinions, but that he is so cold and reserved—will institute his best men without speaking one word as to their parishes, &c.

August 19.—Mr. Thirlwall drove us to the station. Nothing could exceed the brotherly kindness of the Bishop of St. David's throughout. I seem to understand him now thoroughly, and highly value him. I am sorry heartily that in early debates in the House of Lords I attacked him somewhat sharply, thinking him a latitudinarian. I see now that he is *very* liberal in his opinions of others, but sound himself, —of a very fair and even merciful mind, a high sense of honour, and a broad generalising view of each subject which is brought before him, not a man of practical gifts.

August 26.—Superb weather. On by rail to Godalming, drove to Northchapel, where met the horses, and rode with my boys by Petworth Park and the Commons to beloved Lavington, which was in all its still beauty this fine evening. How many mercies surround me. Visited *her* grave, and knelt on it long in prayer for Herbert and all her children.

The following letter was written to Mr. Gordon just after his entering Parliament, in answer to a letter in which Mr. Gordon says that he has been attacked by the 'Daily News,' and that; 'as I sit on the bench immediately behind Gladstone, his weary sigh teaches me that it is not a life of pleasure I have to expect from the House of Commons.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. A. Gordon.

Abergwilly, August 7.

I have not seen the 'Daily News,' and am rather glad I have not: it is easier to bear unmoved being abused oneself unjustly, than to hear a friend so treated. But for you, the lesson, and the sigh of our dear friend Gladstone, and the sadness at your start, are all meant in love. I trust you have too great, I know you have too true, a future before you, to be able to start merely with the white sails and the bright sun and the curling waves of a young ambition gratified. . . . I am affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The letters which follow give the outlines of the history of one of the greatest sorrows of the Bishop's life Few of those who met him in ordinary society, and saw what light and brightness he threw into the circle in which he moved, could have had any conception of the many forms of suffering which he had to bear. One of the very keenest of these sufferings was the secession of his brother Robert (Archdeacon R. I.

Wilberforce) to the Roman Communion. The two brothers were bound to each other by the ties of the warmest love and affection. The touching lines which follow, show how this increased as the two stood alone in their fidelity to the Church, when so many of those nearest and dearest to them fell away.

> Oh Brother! thrice beloved, who from those years
> When, as with common heart we lived, and shared
> Childhood's keen griefs and joys, hast ever bared
> Thy breast to every storm of woes and fears
> Which beat on me, and often with thy tears
> Hast staunched mine; who in dark days hast dared
> All questions to explore—Since it has fared
> So sadly with our house that careless ears
> Of passers-by with the wide severance ring
> Of four who at one altar vowed to serve—
> How closer to thy faithful love I cling;
> How pray we two may yet endure, with nerve
> Strung as of iron, and beneath the wing
> Of this our Mother Church hold fast and never swerve.

The Bishop had the highest admiration for his brother's great theological powers, and took the most intense interest in all that he wrote. There were points on which the minds of these two most remarkable brothers took different views as to the fittest mode of expressing the truths which the Church has to teach; but on the great and important truth that the Church of England is the Catholic Church in this country they had up to the year 1850 been fully and entirely agreed. In that year the Bishop wrote: 'Great love to Jane.[2] I trust to her to keep you from being led away by Manning's subtleties.' And again in the same year, after Archdeacon Manning's secession, the Bishop writes, saying—

[2] Mrs. R. I. Wilberforce.

I long to hear that Keble has in any measure reassured you. The more I think of it the more awful does it seem that one of us should be betrayed into deliberately choosing all the errors, superstitions, and grievous corruptions of the Papacy, when all the tenets of the Church as well as of the Gospel are our own in the Church of our Baptism. Never for months has a day passed that I have not earnestly prayed for you, that you may be kept from this most fearful sin. Of course in comparison with this aspect all other things are light. But it is heartbreaking to me to think of losing you, my brother and friend—my friend, guide, and aid since boyhood, and with whom, I do believe, there does still exist an unity of feeling, which has perished (though affection survives in all its strength) between Henry and myself. May God evermore bless you, my beloved brother; I think you so much better a man than I am, that it is marvellous you should be ensnared by such a painted hag as that Roman Jezebel.

It was on this point that the doubts which had begun, then grew stronger in the mind of Archdeacon Wilberforce. His book on the 'Principles of Church Authority' would seem to show that his mind was distressed and disquieted by the sense of disunion and divisions among Christians, and that he was driven to seek an escape from these in the theory of union under the Supremacy of the See of Rome. The Bishop felt this keenly, first because he had always a clear view that the facts of history prove the Roman claim to Supremacy to be an incrustation upon the system of the Primitive Church; and he therefore felt that to commit oneself to the *à priori* theory of union through the Supremacy was to lean on a broken reed; and then in this case the grief that he always felt for every secession from the Church was intensified, because he was losing from his side in the great work for the Church of God a brother whose

love and sympathy had been one of the chief joys of his life. It will be seen too from his letter to his son Herbert [3] how deep a sense the Bishop had of the harm that is done to the mind of anyone who is seduced by the errors which have, in the Roman Communion so obscured the truths of the Catholic Church. All this will account for the suffering which his brother's secession caused him. Many letters passed between the brothers while Robert was contemplating the step which he eventually took, and they show most clearly that it was the longing for authoritative teaching that shook Robert. This longing however, assumed no definite form until 1853. In the April of that year he writes :—'If I do anything, it will merely be to resign my preferment, in order that I may consider the state of things more dispassionately, but I have no thought of doing so at present.' Again, in July of the same year, he writes :—'I much wish to have a talk with you. I cannot satisfy myself that I am right in occupying a post which implies so much responsibility, while I continue uncertain in my judgment as to the state of things. I much therefore wish to retire into a less responsible position.' The Bishop's reply shows how earnestly he endeavoured to retain if possible in the service of the English Church, one of whose moral and mental powers he had such long and intimate knowledge.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

The Athenæum, July 20, 1853.

My most beloved Brother,—I cannot tell you the deep sadness with which your letter has overwhelmed me. God forbid that you should take this step. Surely the mode in

[3] See *post*, p. 303.

which your book[4] has been received by the Church must quiet your mind, for it shows (1) how great an amount of Church truth is held implicitly by it, of which there is no external manifestation ; and (2) how plain it is that in the judgment of the Church itself you do not fall without the line of her honest servants. Indeed it seems to me clear as if written with a sunbeam, that our position is that of putting forth dogmatically all Apostolic truth, but having our arm of discipline so withered that we cannot punish and cast out those who deny the truth. But then herein we *really* share the fate of the whole Church ; for what king or emperor is cast out for open and notorious crime? and yet how much clearer is crime than heresy, and how full and loud the censures of God against a Church which spares the rich and condemns the poor! So that *no* part of the Church could now retain any who applied to it the vigorous scrutiny you would apply in these matters to ours. My most dear friend and brother, may God restore to you perfect quietness in serving in our Church. . . .

This book had just been published, and the following letter of the Bishop acknowledging the receipt of it, shows the dread he had as to whither the craving of his brother's studious mind might lead him.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

26 Pall Mall, July 28, 1853.

My beloved Brother,—Many thanks for letting me see this most interesting letter of Keble's. Oh! how entirely do I enter into it ; and as far as I have read your book agree with it. It is so manifest to me that it must be your temptation—who follow up everything to its highest sources, and are satisfied with nothing until you have thought it all well out, and defined to yourself what you do hold and do not hold : to think that our Church does not hold, or that men do not hold

[4] The book referred to is the Archdeacon's work on the Holy Eucharist.

truth, because they do not know that they hold it and even deny holding it when they do really hold it. I hear that the perverts in their secret communications, regard your work as the most dangerous entire denial of the great doctrine of Transubstantiation ever put forth. . . . I am ever affectionately your dearly loving brother,

S. OXON.

Mr. Keble in the letter referred to had said, 'What I am most anxious about is that we should make the best instead of the worst of the feelings and opinions of earnest men of all sections, on this subject especially; and in particular that we should neither scorn nor ignore the very large amount of real faith and devotion as to a Real Presence of our Lord's Humanity, even among those who in words would perhaps think themselves bound to disavow it.' In October Robert paid the Bishop a visit at Lavington, where he met Mr. Gladstone. Writing to the Bishop on his return home, he says :—'I am much encouraged to remain quiet by Gladstone's influence and arguments, in addition to yours and Keble's, but I must endeavour to find some principle on which to justifiy such acquiescence, before I can feel that I stand on anything of a permanent basis. You say truly that if I could so employ myself as to give over thinking of my principles I should be safe, and I fully believe it, but this is a mode of proceeding in which a person might manage to remain a Methodist, a Mahometan, or a Mormon.' The Bishop's reply shows what the course was which he really advised his brother to take.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Near Marlow, Nov. 5, 1853.

My beloved Brother,—I am not quite easy, my dearest brother, without suggesting—and I am sure I do it with a full sense of my great inferiority to you—rather more what I did mean about your work, &c. I did *not* mean that you should, in the *interest* of your work, lose sight of your difficulties. But what I meant was this. Here is a most perplexed and difficult question. *Certainly* the Church is not in its normal state; any member of any branch of it may well be harassed with doubts as to his own, because he knows more of its evils than of those of others. Now a right decision on such a question is more a moral and spiritual than a mere intellectual result. Logic cannot settle the many nice points which must bias the final decision. What *is* wanted is a *right judgment*—the special guiding of God's Spirit. Now then how can *that* be most certainly sought? Not, as it seems to me, by one in your position retiring from the activity of work into his study, but by doing with all his powers the work appertaining to his station, and then giving what time and care he can to study. To stand off intermediately from the fullest carrying out of the work of the present station, because you may change, seems to me to be inviting doubts. God bless you, my dearest brother and keep us all in His way—even to the end! I am in true love your most affectionate

S. Oxon.

In July 1854, the Archdeacon writes:—'My dearest brother,—I must ask you not to think too much about me, or grieve if you hear of my resigning my preferment. For I cannot but see that all will go on as it has done, and as no prosecution is likely to take place against me, I must act for myself. I am inclined, therefore, to withdraw quietly into private life.'

The prosecution referred to was on the Archdeacon's book on the Holy Eucharist. Such a prosecution would

have been to him welcome. He had expressed himself on Archdeacon Denison's case, as 'acquiescing in his present position in the hope that ere long something might be settled.' That natural straining of his mind towards dogmatic teaching had by this time been further intensified by the work he was engaged upon, the 'Principles of Church Authority,' published about this period. Referring to this work, the Archdeacon writing to the Bishop says :—'It contains my deliberate thoughts, the result of four years' consideration, and how can I suppress my convictions? I have said less to you than to any one about it, because I did not like to grieve you while the thing was as yet uncertain, and also because I felt that I might in some measure commit you, and I wished you to stand alone.'

The news of the Archdeacon's having taken the decisive step of resigning his Archdeaconry was conveyed in almost a single line, which the Bishop received at Chichester on September 3. Writing to Sir Charles Anderson on that day, the Bishop begs him to come to Lavington, and says: 'Really, my dear friend, I want you. I hardly know what I write. I have just heard from Robert, in a letter heart-breaking from affection, that he has resigned his preferment. I cannot but know what will follow next, and what *that* will be, and what it may lead to, God only knows. I tremble.' Some days after, he wrote again to Sir Charles, saying, 'I feel as if my head would go.' The diary of the day mentions his ride back to Lavington from Chichester, meeting 'Randall[5] and the boys on the down.' To Mr. Randall he said, 'I suppose you have heard that my brother Robert has determined to go over to Rome?' Mr. Randall, describing that meet-

[5] The Rev. R. W. Randall, Rector of Lavington.

ing, says he 'never saw on the face of any man such a look of anguish and desolation as that with which those words were spoken.'

In the course of the ride just mentioned he said to the Rector, 'I shall not preach to-morrow.' The next day was Sunday. It was his usual custom to preach in the little village church, close to his own house, but he thought he should not be able to preach with the heavy cloud brooding over him. The next morning, however, he said, 'I will try to preach after all. I have been lying awake the whole night thinking over my poor brother Robert.' The Bishop describes that night thus: 'Rose after a sleepless night, worn like a hunted hare.' The sermon showed 'the visions of his head upon his bed,' 'visions' indeed they were —visions of the Cross such as he often had, and which gave him such power to speak to hearts that had been wounded as his own had been.

His sermons in that church were amongst his very best. He used to pour out his heart there as if it were a relief to him to talk out what had passed within him. The memories of that church and of the house near it, of the graves that clustered round it, and of the voices that had spoken in it, seemed to bring out all the man that was in him, and to possess him with a stronger sense than ever of the loving dealings of God with the soul. So it was then. One of those who heard that sermon said that he never could forget it, nor the insight that it gave into the sorrows of the heart of the preacher. The text was, 'They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.' The Bishop drew a picture of the sharpness of the suffering caused by crucifixion. He said that this was often increased, in the case of those who were bound

and not nailed to the cross, by the long and lingering character of the death, as life slowly ebbed away. Such men died by inches; one limb after another perhaps lost sensation, and so in prolonged agonies they passed away from this world, till they were wholly gone from it. And so he said, God often calls us to die by slow degrees to all things which we are in danger of loving instead of Himself. We have, it may be, to die to home, to friends, the most dear and loved ones, and to give them up for our Blessed Lord's sake, till we are dead to all but Him, and have passed in hope and affection beyond all that makes this world dear, to live in God.

It was a sermon which told how the lesson of the night had been learned, and from Whom. It showed that the power of the Bishop's preaching lay in the very reality which was too often denied him; and that, if he so largely comforted others, it was 'with the comfort wherewith he himself was comforted by God.' And so the two brothers parted.

How little was the character of the parting foreseen. The fall of the one who was so holy, so gentle, who seemed so simply and so singly to devote his talents to the service of God, must remain among the mysteries that it is not for man to attempt to solve. At least one reason for the steadfast perseverance of the other in his noble work for our own Church may be found in his unwavering conviction that the Presence of God was with her, and that in serving her he was serving the Lord to whom she belongs. It is singular that, in the next year, when the same brother Robert gave the Bishop an introduction to the Bishop of Amiens to be used in a tour through France, he wrote to the French Bishop in some such terms as

these, 'You will find that you have much in common with him, but it will be of no use to try and convert him, for he is persuaded that he has in the Church of England all that the Catholic Church could offer him.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. R. Cavendish.

Lavington, Sept. 9, 1854.

My dear Cavendish,—I knew how bitterly you would feel my dearest Brother's most sad act, Dear Fellow! He had acted before my answer came, or *for the present* we should have been saved it, for he allows that I have proved that he ought not to have taken the step *at this time.* The truth is he had acted under the constraining influence of Manning (who is at Burton Agnes) and Henry. Oh, my heart aches all through to think of the mischief this will do: Romanizing *a few*, irreligionizing a multitude, shaking the confidence of all. May our gracious God, who knows the purity of my beloved Brother's soul, overrule even this for good; but it is a hard sad blow. I have been suffering a good deal in my head, the natural consequences of distress since we parted. I know my dear brother's *argument* and I really think it *quite* untenable. God bless you, my dear Friend, and keep you steadfast and immovable. I am ever, very affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The Bishop of Oxford to Archdeacon Wilberforce.

Lavington, Sept. 12, 1854.

My beloved Brother,—I know not how to write about the terrible announcement of your last letter: it seems to strike me to the earth, and I am debating whether contemporaneously with the announcement of your fall, I ought not to resign my bishopric, in order that without the reproach of remaining in the English Communion for the sake of my preferments, I may testify with what little strength is given me for the rest of my life against the cursed abominations

of the Papacy.[6] All seems dark as yet before me, without taking this step. The increased clearness of my own declarations against Rome which must be forced on me, may seem insincere. But, my beloved Brother, is this frightful dream which now for years has kept me from rest, really inevitable? Have you weighed all the consequences of such an act? Have you thought how many zealous young hearts you will make cold in Christ's service, probably for their whole ministry? How many infidels you will create? How great an 'offence' you will make to come? *Can* it be needful for your salvation, and can anything less justify such a step? That you should quit a Communion in which, after weighing every part of the controversy, such men as Andrewes, and Cosin, and Hooker, and Bramhall, were content to minister and to die! My beloved Brother, I as a bystander seem to myself to see the whole case with a clearness which the cloud of personal interest denies to you. I see that originally J. Newman obtained a great power over your mind; that since, through your great humility, Manning, by his great subtlety of intellect, and Henry by his unceasing repetition of argument, have overmastered your own far superior understanding; whilst your late unhappy Archbishop has been all along exhibiting to you the Church of England as few but himself could exhibit it; and that thus you have been brought into a state of mind in which you have fallen under *the* temptation to which your logical habit peculiarly exposes you, of requiring an *ἀκρίβεια*[7] in the system under which you live which is not granted to any branch of the Church at this time. Now, my beloved Brother, if my solution only *may* be the true one, ought you not to wait till what you have to urge has been thoroughly weighed by such men as Keble, Gladstone, and you have weighed their answers. You mention those who are grasping for you; but you did not tell me that Manning was at Burton Agnes

[6] *Diary. September* 15.—A very affectionate and friendly letter from the Bishop of London earnestly protesting against my retiring on account of Robert's step.

[7] I.e. Literal exactness.

trying to land his prey. My dear dear Brother, I beseech you, before the step is taken, weigh all this well. Delay must in such a matter be safe: precipitation *must* be dangerous. I am ever your almost broken-hearted Brother,

S. OXON.

The Rev. R. I. Wilberforce to the Bishop of Oxford.

Burton Agnes, Sept. 14, 1854.

My beloved Brother,—I am overpowered by your letter just received; what a miserable creature am I to cause so much grief to those who are as dear to me as myself. If you would but be angry with me I could bear it; but it is a bitter thing to be rending the heart of those who are so affectionate as you. What I do, ought not and will not really excite suspicion against you, for it has always been well known how different have been our views on many subjects. I am not going to take any immediate step; but my book on Church Authority leads to the necessity of submission to the successor of St. Peter.

As to Manning's coming here, he had written to offer to meet me or see me before he knew of the steps which I had taken. I did not tell him of it till I had received the Archbishop's answer. I resigned legally the Archdeaconry last Saturday. I don't expect to resign my living for some weeks. And thus I feel ready to wish that I might lie down and die, if it were God's will and I was in a state of Salvation. I have daily prayed for the last four years that I might be taken away rather than come to this. Your most loving and deeply grieved brother,

R. I. WILBERFORCE.

The letter referred to in the note on the last page is as follows:—

The Bishop of London to the Bishop of Oxford.

Sept. 14, 1854.

My dear Lord,—I have no hesitation in dissuading you from taking the step which you have been contemplating. You would be *at first* suspected of doing so from an inclination to follow the example which your brother has so unhappily set, and afterwards, when your sincerity was no longer doubtful, many persons would say that you had, without sufficient necessity, deserted an important post of duty, which would have given you sufficient opportunities of protesting against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome with greater weight and a more extensive influence. Moreover, and I say it with perfect sincerity, the Church cannot afford to lose you, as one of its rulers and its ablest defender in Parliament. It is a hard trial for you, but you must bear it *διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας*,[8] and in the end the *εὐφημία* will prevail. Believe me, my dear Lord, with the truest sympathy and affection, yours most sincerely,

C. J. LONDON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Hon. R. Cavendish.

Eton, Oct. 3, 1854.

My dear Cavendish,—I have been most reluctantly compelled to give up my visit to you. My dear —— was sent home ill from Cheltenham, and I have been nursing him at Cuddesdon. Thank God, I left him yesterday under Mrs. Sargent's care pretty well again. I am very sorry to have missed you, although, as you say, it would have been a sad meeting. I have no better news nor hopes. I sent your *letters*, but he has not replied. It seems to me that seeking a logical accuracy not granted to us in things of mixed human and divine has led his noble nature wrong. May God have mercy on us all and keep us straight. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

[8] Through evil report and good report.

October 7.—No one can say what the loss is to me; and though my dear brother is just going to Gladstone—and next to myself he has the greatest influence over him—yet I fear that nothing will long prevent his taking that further step which is the proper accomplishment of what he has already done.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Oct. 18, 1854.

My dear Gladstone,—I, too, read through carefully the greater part of my dear brother's book on Sunday. It fills me with the deepest anguish. It is, in my judgment, so unlike his former works in the unwarrantable assumptions which he takes as axioms, in the illogical substitution of terms in his arguments, in the leaps from one point to another, *e.g.* from assenting to the judgment of the whole Church to the assenting to the judgment of a particular branch of the Church, from the primacy to the supremacy, &c. &c.; that I see now how his patient courageous intellect has been bound before he could intellectually have put forth this work, and this makes me apprehend with too fatal a clearness how strong are the bonds with which those who are misleading him have hold on him.

I cannot but earnestly desire that you would write to him as fully as time and as strongly as affection will allow. I say the last because I am confident that the disease has reached that point at which none but powerful stimulants at all affect his receptive powers. I need not speak to you of my grief. I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The following are extracts from the diary and letters on this subject.

October 15.—Read a great deal of my dear Robert's book. Quite *unconvincing* to me—overstated greatly in the earlier part, and establishing I think, that nowhere is the full unity

and intention of the Church preserved. Oh, that such speculations, aided by the practical evils he has seen in the Diocese of York, should have lost us such a man!

October 18.—I am overwhelmed with sorrow at my dear brother's book. It makes me hopeless about his future, from its glaring intellectual faults, so unlike his former books, showing how complete is his bewilderment. He is *the* one brother who is as my own soul, and we shall soon be parted, perhaps opposed, for two weary lives.

November 2.—Letter from dear Robert announcing his final accomplishment of fall at Paris.

November 5.—Alas, my dear brother is lost to us! He joined the evil schism at Paris. They promised to keep it at present a secret (he wishing my visitation over first). But with their usual truthfulness, at once promulged it.

November 18.—Willy[9] came in the afternoon; showed me a most affecting letter from dear Robert, now happy in communion with the great body of Catholics; had learned that he who would have God for his father, must have the Church for his mother, &c. All aimed at perverting Willy, who as yet seems unshaken.

December 5 (*Steyning*).—Walked with Trower, amidst pouring rain, by Chanctonbury Ring. Old Mr. Göring planted it as a schoolboy, carrying up water in bottles in his pocket—quite successful—the trees not separately large but close together, hence its success. Much talk with Trower. He told me about Manning discussing with him his prospects of being made a Bishop! and saying, 'unless some crisis comes and they require me to quiet it, no chance.' When Manning was shaken, Trower, showing him how ambition had been his danger, reminded him of this.

[9] Now Rev. W. F. Wilberforce, eldest son of Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce.

CHAPTER VII.

(1855.)

CONVOCATION—THE ARCHBISHOP URGES PROLONGED SESSION—DEFEAT OF LORD ABERDEEN'S GOVERNMENT—CHURCH-RATES—CONVERSATION WITH MR. GLADSTONE—'COURT FAVOUR'—LORD ABERDEEN AND PRINCE ALBERT ON THE BISHOP—PRINCE ALBERT'S OPINION OF THE BISHOP—HIS REASONS—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP TO MR. GORDON, AS TO PRECEPTORSHIP OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—LORD ABERDEEN'S OPINION OF THE BISHOP—CONVERSATION WITH BARON STOCKMAR—INSTALLATION OF NAPOLEON III. AS KNIGHT OF THE GARTER—CONVERSATIONS WITH LORD ABERDEEN AND THE BISHOP OF LONDON—COUNT STRZLECKI'S STORIES—ACCOUNT OF FRENCH SYSTEM OF CATECHIZING—CONVERSATIONS WITH MM. THIERS, GUIZOT AND MIGNET—HERBERT'S ILLNESS—THE 'WHIGS AFRAID OF YOU.'

January 19.—A remarkable letter from Arthur Gordon. The Archbishop pressing lengthened sittings of Convocation on Lord Aberdeen! I feel as if the stone we had so hardly rolled up the hill were beginning to roll over. May God direct it aright.

The letter is as follows :—

The Hon. Arthur Gordon, M.P. to the Bishop of Oxford.

Jan. 18, 1855.

My dearest Lord,—I have so many matters to write to you about, that I do not well know what to say first. I will begin, however, with my father's interview with the Archbishop. They had a little conversation about the subject on which my father came, (the Queen's letter,[1]) and the Arch-

[1] A 'Queen's Letter' had been up to this year annually read in every Church on behalf of each of the four great Church Societies. This Lord Palmerston, who was Home Secretary, without consulting the Cabinet, refused to issue.

bishop having declared that if it were refused he should in the House of Lords move an address to the Queen, Lord Aberdeen said he would take what steps were in his power to set things right. These 'steps' have consisted in writing a letter to Palmerston, requesting him to reconsider his determination, and desiring him to bring the matter before the Cabinet, if he feels a difficulty in dealing with it himself. After the manner in which the Archbishop disregarded his former remonstrances, Lord Aberdeen thought it would be *infra dig.* to make any further direct request of his Grace in Denison's affair, but he spoke vaguely and in general terms about peace and concord, &c., &c., which would, he said, have given an opportunity to the Archbishop to introduce the subject had he been so inclined. Instead of doing so, however, he turned the conversation; and now comes the extraordinary part of the conversation on which I most heartily congratulate you. You know we had settled that my father should *not* speak to the Archbishop about Convocation, and he had no intention at all of doing so. Judge, therefore, of my wonder and delight at hearing that the Archbishop himself brought the matter forward by expressing his hope, that Lord Aberdeen would see no objection to a prolonged session of Convocation, as it was very essential that business should be transacted by Convocation *which could not properly be considered by any other body.* My father from an *official* feeling rather than from any real objection, fought a little, and asked whether there was anything Convocation could do which the Bishops could not do as well by themselves? The Archbishop at once replied that there were many things, and *especially instanced the division of services.* The recommendation of the Bishops, he said, would, or at least might not be attended to; the directions of Convocation he had no doubt would be generally obeyed. The end of the whole conversation was, that though my father would not bind himself by any positive promise, he said he should be very unwilling to incur the responsibility of refusing a permission which the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose moderation everyone knew, and who was not generally supposed to be overfond of Convocation, had declared to be

required by the interests of the Church of England. So that we may now, thank God, consider the prolonged session as *secured*. My father, however, wishes for a letter from the Archbishop, partly for domestic use, to edify Lord John, and partly for Parliament, that in case Shaftesbury should attack him, he may say that *the Archbishop* considered it essential and so hand Lord Shaftesbury over to his Grace for the two friends to fight it out. I am directed to inform you about the Archbishop's language. Yours most affectionately,

A. GORDON.

The Bishop replied on the same day, saying—

As to the Archbishop's communication, I do feel grateful to Him in whose hands are the hearts of all. It is a matter of deep thankfulness to see what I have so long striven for accomplished, or in the way to be accomplished. But it is not without a feeling of the awfulness of the moment that I see the stone we have so patiently rolled up the hill begin its downward course out of our hands, and to shape its own route for safety or destruction. The great thing practically now will be to *secure* the Archbishop's *letter*. Can you not manage this? If he pauses he may change. Can you not if no letter comes get leave to write speedily, and, referring to the conversation, say you have expected the letter, &c., and so draw it forth, before 'my brother of Winchester' stops it.

It was arranged with Mr. Gladstone's concurrence that the Bishop of London should obtain the letter from the Archbishop, which was as follows :—

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Aberdeen.

Jan. 22, 1855.

My dear Lord,—A communication from the Bishop of London leads me to believe that your Lordship may wish to have it under my hand that I consider a continuation of Convocation for one or perhaps two days beyond the day of

meeting, Tuesday, February 6, to be desirable rather than otherwise. The Committees were allowed to be formed last year, and to deliberate and to report. It seems, therefore, that the consideration of their reports is only reasonable, and one day will not suffice for that purpose. But I may be permitted to add, that if your Lordship is called upon for consent to this, it may be well to limit the consent to two or at the most three days. I have the, &c.,

J. B. CANTUAR.

On the same day the Dean of Ely (Peacock), Prolocutor of the Lower House, at the request of Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Blomfield, wrote to Lord Aberdeen requesting two or three days for discussion, urging as his reason that in one day the subjects could not be debated decorously, and further assuring the Prime Minister that a large majority of the House would support him in excluding topics of a personal or obnoxious nature. The immediate subjects for discussion were, the Report of their Committee of Privileges; the Reform of Convocation Report, and the Church Rate Report. As will be seen by the entry of February 9, the three days during which they sat were not sufficient to exhaust these subjects.

January 20.— Letter from Arthur Gordon saying that Gladstone was at first quite alarmed by the idea of permanent sitting of Convocation, yet at last thinking it too great an opportunity to lose, even with the chance of Lord John turning it against the Government. Gladstone's sadness about the Crimean army, 'A matter for weeping all day and praying all night.'

January 29.—To House of Lords. Saw Arthur Gordon, and heard that the Government would be beaten. For Church matters how dark a prospect! The only Government which could or was minded to be fair to the Church overthrown,

because six miles of road not made from Balaclava to Sebastopol.[2]

January 31.—To Grillion's to dine, where Cardwell, Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, H. Drummond, Lord Elcho. Very interesting evening, but less sparkle than usual. Public events cast a certain gloom over us. Gladstone now and then absent. H. Drummond saying that Lord John must come in. 'That Sir Robert Peel had pressed on him in 1846 not to oppose Lord John if he wished to have the Queen on the throne, meaning that his factiousness would lead him any lengths. Gladstone made light of that danger. Peel was possessed, he said, with a notion of the dangers which would attend a Protectionist Government, expecting public outbreaks,' &c. To-day understood that Lord Derby had accepted office, and seen Palmerston as to a coalition. A most touching letter from Arthur Gordon on the difference made in his position by his father's retirement.

February 1.—After breakfast to Gladstone. Walked down with Evelyn Denison, who loud upon Lord John. 'That little man is now wrapped up in the contemplation of the wise and noble act he has performed, and thinking the universal condemnation he receives the murmur of that wave of popular sympathy whose crest is to carry him to the pinnacle of power.' He gave an account of the head of Peto's navvies, on reaching Balaclava, and finding the miserable state of everything, refusing to land them until some provision had been made. He could get no orders given at Balaclava, and therefore pressed on to headquarters. Saw Airey—Lord Raglan absolutely refusing to see him. Airey: 'What do you require?' 'I can manage and set my men at work if you will order me a fatigue party for two hours.' 'I can do no such thing; I have to look after soldiers, not navvies.' At Gladstone's; his tone noble. As to Church rates, we agreed entirely in view. The Government plan was to be 'For

[2] Lord Aberdeen's Government was beaten in the House of Commons, by a majority of 157, on a motion by Mr. Roebuck for a Committee of Inquiry into the sufferings of the Army in the Crimea.

providing for the maintenance of the fabric and public worship in parishes where a Church rate was refused,' and to be based on Butler's plan. As to public events, he thought it best that Lord Derby should come in, and they give him an independent support. 'But would not that end, as before, in irritation and further separation?' 'No; things are in a very different state. Lord Derby is no longer hampered by his anti-Free Trade professions. Graham would take quite a different line from what he did before. Then there is no chance of their reviving their old financial measures, and it was Disraeli's wretched plan of finance which compelled me to oppose them. Why, his scheme about the income tax would have convulsed the country: I would have opposed my own father if he had proposed such a measure.'[3] We agreed in lamenting Lord Aberdeen's loss for Church measures. 'The best Minister possible for the Church, and yet it was for joining that Minister that Oxford gave me sixteen days' contest for my seat.' He told me of the falsehoods universal as to the so much better state of the French; Canrobert saying, 'If only my men were in such good tents as yours, instead of having only their miserable tents, and being down in the mud. I sent for tents like yours, and they sent six hundred, and forgot all the poles.' Then, as to horses' nosebags wearing out, and our horses dying from eating dirt with their corn—far more of the French had died from the same cause. 'Could we properly have revealed all this, how different had been the feeling in the country.'

Then to Convocation Committee on Church Rates,—Bishops of London, St. David's, Lichfield, Chichester, Archdeacons Grant, Bartholomew, Dean of Norwich, Chancellor Martin (Exeter), Vincent Gillett, Archdeacon Sinclair. Long discussion. I stated that Church Rate *not* our real contest, but Fabrics, and carried at length a resolution for such a

[3] Lord Derby's Government was beaten on the Budget on Dec. 16—the motion voted on was the house-tax resolution. Mr. Disraeli proposed to increase the tax on inhabited houses, shops, public-houses and farm-houses from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, and to extend this tax to all houses worth an annual rent of 10*l.* or upwards.

scheme as that of the late Government—all save, perhaps, Chancellor Martin and the Dean of Norwich.

The Bishop's opinion on this point is very clearly stated in a letter written in the beginning of 1856.

My dear ——,—I have the strongest conviction that the real and deepest struggle in which the Church is engaged is for the ultimate possession of the Fabrics of the Churches. I believe that with the most far-seeing Dissenter *this* is the real object, and nothing, in my judgment, could more fatally promote this object than any proposal to separate the rate for maintaining the Fabric from the rate for maintaining the Worship, as if the first was a national possession, and the second a sectarian object. Any measure, therefore, which contained this provision I should feel bound to oppose.

The resignation of the Ministry was announced in both Houses on February 1. And thus the Bishop was able to make the request contained in the following letter, which during Lord Aberdeen's tenure of office was manifestly impossible :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Feb. 2, 1855.

There is one thing which, if your father could do it naturally and with propriety, I should greatly thank him for doing. I *know* the pains which have been taken by Lord —— to injure my character with the Queen, and specially to make her *distrust* me. Perhaps *you*, more than most people, can understand the secret bitter pain which this has caused me. She has long had from me the warm affection of a loyal heart, quickened by a sense of personal kindness—and to feel that she has, by the interested machinations of a most unscrupulous man, been led to form an entirely wrong estimate, as I believe, of me has given me continual grief. I had of old as true and fast a friend in her intimate confidence as ever man had in G. E. Anson ; and so long as he lived had always one

who counteracted the influence against me. Now, what I should like would be, if it were possible, for your father to have said anything to show what I believe would be his estimate of me, in any conversation with the Queen. Whilst he was the dispenser of honour and place I should never have breathed this wish, even to you. But now, when what he might do would only be, in her secret mind, to redress an injustice, I, with much hesitation, name it to you. But I leave it absolutely to your judgment whether you should even name the subject to your father; and I can readily understand why, even if you do, he may not think it fit, or wise, or possible to do anything in the matter.[4]

The diary shows that Lord Aberdeen acted in compliance with the Bishop's desire, and on February 4 the Bishop again writes to Mr. Gordon, saying :—

My dearest Arthur,—I will not attempt to thank your dear father for this kindness. If that honest heart of our Queen could once believe that I would die rather than breathe a dishonest thought, I should be a happier man. I have a curious story to tell you about the Archbishop and Convocation of yesterday. Lord Shaftesbury is to attack on Monday and the Archbishop answer. Most affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Lord Aberdeen's friendly efforts did not terminate at this point. The interview he had sought with Her Majesty and the Prince had been ended by the Prince saying, 'He (the Bishop) does everything for some object. He has a motive for all his conduct;' to which Lord Aberdeen rejoined, 'Yes, sir, but when a bad motive?'

[4] In the first volume a passage occurs in one of the Bishop's letters to Miss Noel, saying how much he (the Bishop) felt the loss of Court favour. As this expression is liable to misinterpretation, this episode is here inserted to show what the 'Court favour' was, the loss of which the Bishop so keenly felt, and which the Bishop valued, not for the expectation of any personal advantage, but for the unrivalled opportunities of usefulness not otherwise within his reach.

In the October of this year Lord Aberdeen paid a visit to Balmoral and, while there, renewed the conversation ; when it became evident that the cause of Prince Albert's change of opinion towards the Bishop arose from a suspicion on his, the Prince's, part as to the Bishop's sincerity and disinterestedness. Two of the instances suggested were : (1) That in earlier life the Bishop had sought the Preceptorship to the Prince of Wales, and (2) that in a discussion with the Prince on a well-known miracle on which he had just preached, he (the Bishop) had somewhat unduly modified his own views to suit those advanced by his Royal Highness. The Bishop thus vindicates himself :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Petworth House, Oct. 30, 1855.

My dearest Arthur,—I welcomed exceedingly the sight of your handwriting when I saw it on Sunday morning on my table, and thank you greatly for it. It is really curious, if anything in this world as to men's mistakes could be curious, that, when driven by Lord Aberdeen into a corner, *he* should have selected those two points. *For*, as to the Preceptorship, the thought of it was my special horror. G. E. Anson told me once, *long, long* ago, that they would like it, and I dreaded the proposal during all my early years of intimacy with them with a special horror. I did not think myself fit for it : I thought it would be drawing me from what I was in many respects fit for ; and yet that it was a thing which, if offered, could not be refused ; and it was therefore the *bête noire* of my expectations. Then, as to the second : the swine sermon was preached in days when he was most friendly, long before I was Dean or Bishop : the conversation followed, and a long one it was. *He* did not say how entirely he disbelieved in spirits of evil, but raised all possible objections which I combated ; and the only thing like the 'convenient' averment I said was that it was far best for us to believe in a Devil who suggested evil to us ; for that

otherwise we were driven to make every man his own Devil ; and I thought that this view rather touched him. I cannot say how grateful I feel to Lord Aberdeen, not so much (though a good deal, too, for that) for his doing battle for me, as for his *belief* in me.

The words 'belief in me,' in the above letter, refer to an expression of Lord Aberdeen's indicating the heartiness and conviction of his advocacy. 'Not all the Queens and Princes in Europe could make me believe that the Bishop of Oxford is a worldly minded or selfish man.'

February 4 (*Sunday*).—Prepared sermon for St. Mary's, Princes Street, Lambeth—a most miserable population in Lambeth, through which I passed—which quickened me in my sermon. To Chapel Royal in the afternoon, and walked back with Gladstone. Lord John has 'utterly' failed in forming a Ministry. Thank God. Lord Palmerston now sent for. He was invited by Lord Derby to join with Gladstone and Sidney Herbert. At first he was unwilling, and at night declined. Gladstone and Sidney Herbert ready to serve. Gladstone though feeling acutely the evil of Shaftesbury's suggested Bishops would not feel clear on that ground of refusing—not a fair constitutional ground. Dined with the Bishop of London. He agrees as to Convocation course. The Archbishop came to him yesterday. Had heard from Dean Elliott, and others, as to impropriety of allowing Convocation to meet in Ministerial interregnum. Second letter by a friend from Shaftesbury who is to move about it in the House of Lords to-morrow. The Bishop (London) said he thought Lord Aberdeen's letter settled it. That he was in till another appointed and no right to suppose there would be a change ; rather insulting to Lord Aberdeen and not very civil to the Queen (whose will he expressed) now to alter. The Archbishop : 'Quite a relief to find *that* your opinion ; it was my first opinion, and I shall be prepared to state it to-morrow in the House.'

Lord Palmerston sought for the support of Lord Aberdeen and his friends; and the Bishop's opinion was asked on the proposal.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. Arthur Gordon.

26 Pall Mall, Feb. 5, 1855.

My dearest Arthur,—It is indeed a most perplexing question, and one on which I would far rather have talked than written, because a quantity of small questions require answering before the current of one's thoughts runs clear. I am here this morning if you like to come: or I would come up to you if you will send. But the question at present strikes me thus. 1. If your father and his friends joined Palmerston, can they make a really strong Government: strong not only for the present, but strong enough to hold power and hand it on. I think they cannot. Palmerston has talent and, at this moment, popularity; but he has no real strength. He has *no* following, he has not the country gentlemen like Derby; the Whigs, like any scion of the Bedfords; the Independent Liberals, like your father's Government. To what then can his Ministry appeal? Not to the country party; not to the Whig tradition; not like your father to the honesty of the nation. It will very soon be fiercely assailed. Will it stand? I think not—and will not its fall, if they have been its stay, ruin, for a season at least, the real hope of the country, the young political blood of Gladstone, Herbert, Canning, and Co.? For a second speedy break-up would be a grievous injury to them. But how would this affect your father? If such a Government started, I think he *must* be the independent Chief supporting them *out* of office. It would injure his character to come in, in such a Ministry—really his own over again, in a second place. Nor would the danger you foresee in my judgment be prevented by his joining the Government. When Palmerston's tricks began, or when his heedless injuries to foreign alliances began, either your father must break with him alone or with his friends; and the same evil would recur.

But, again, are he and Gladstone and Herbert bound by any party tie or Patriotic necessity to join his Government? Not by the second; if they think as I do that his Government could not hold. Not by the first; for when Lord Derby offered a junction with him, Gladstone and Sidney Herbert by name (meaning of course not them as individuals, but that they should speak for their party); and when Gladstone and Herbert would have at least seen if they could agree on terms of union; Palmerston broke it off *on his own account.*

They therefore have, by all the honourable rules of party obligation, the same liberty now.

Suppose then that they hear his offers, weigh them, and decide that his new Government does not offer stability; whilst, unlike the revival of the old, *because others cannot form one,* it starts with the profession of being that new strong Government which is to issue from the nine days' interregnum: what must be the next step? The formation of a Government comes back to *your father*—and what is to hinder *his* re-forming with Ellenborough, Elgin, Herbert, and Canning in higher places, and above all the traitor out of the camp? I would say, if he *will* not, is it impossible to put Gladstone into that place (though I think your father would be best for all, and that his noble simplicity and truth of conduct would be above price)? I have written whilst your messenger waits. Any time before twelve, here or with you, is yours if I can aid you. I am always, your most affectionate,

S. OXON.

One more word for another alternative surely better than a Palmerston Ministry. Why, when it comes to him, should *he* not go to Lord Derby and say, *I* do not intend to form a part in this Ministry; but if *you* are minded, for the sake of the nation, to heal differences, and give my followers their proper influence, I will endeavour to combine them with you? If the offer came from him, he would have more power. This, on the supposition of his not being chief, seems to me the best solution.

February 5.—Church early; then letters and people. Athe-

næum Committee. Then Convocation Committee on Church Rates, where Chancellor Martin and Bishop of Exeter very violent as to sacrilege, &c. Then to House of Commons and Lords. Dined afterwards with the Bishop of Exeter alone with his family, to talk over to-morrow's Convocation. Only the velvet of his paws to be felt now.

February 6.—Church early. To Convocation with the Bishop of London. A friendly discussion all day, with many useful results ; the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop taking full part in all doings, as being much interested in its success. Then to House of Commons. Heard Lord John's defence, which quite miserable. Gladstone's answer disappointed me ; he speaking of Lord John as free from all treachery, &c.

February 7.—Off to Windsor, to Chapter (of the Garter), and saw the Queen afterwards. She was cheerful and *very* affable. Went after Chapter to Clewer. Long conversation with Mrs. Monsell. Things quiet in House ; but Miss —— very unsettled in mind. Fear that she will ultimately Romanize. Dear —— is acted on by these women far too much, and kept from heartily and with a strong English tone putting down the sentimentalism which leads to Rome. Dear fellow ! he is good, and gentle, and loving beyond praise. But I am always trying to keep him from that perilous neighbourhood. In the evening a large party. I had a talk with Lord Aberdeen about Palmerston's Church preferment. 'Suppose Montagu Villiers *must* be a Bishop. But Palmerston will beware of Shaftesbury, for fear of Gladstone, &c.' Lord Aberdeen natural, simple, good, and honest as ever. A longish talk on politics with good Stockmar, Lord Aberdeen's honesty, Lord Palmerston's ambition. He agreed with me that Lord Palmerston was a great take-in, but that it was necessary that bubbles should burst. He would have much preferred seeing Gladstone and Herbert join with Lord Derby. On the Continent it is constitutional liberty which is reproached by our failure at Sebastopol. They say, 'If England with all her strength cannot make head against the Autocrat, who could that has a constitutional

Government, &c.?' As to the Royal Family, he said, 'The Prince of Wales is the strongest of all. He can bear great fatigue. He takes most after his father's family. The Princess Royal is a thorough Brunswick. She is very clever indeed, has great imagination and varied powers; her picture[5] of "The New Year" full of ability, &c. Prince Albert is not a strong man; a little would throw him down. The Duke of Kent was the ablest of that family. The Duke of Cambridge and King William the Fourth the kindest but the most stupid.'

February 8.—To London after breakfast. To Convocation, where all day till House of Lords. The Bishop of Winchester seconding resolutions, &c.

February 9.—Convocation at three, for Lower House decision on Committee's reports. The Lower House, complaining of being hurried, postponed certain parts.

February 13.—To Cathedral Commission; worked hard till six, getting a great deal done. Walked with Lord Aberdeen to Argyll House. Much talk. 'One does not like to be thrown out of a window; but perhaps it is as well as it is. John Russell can make a peace with applause for which they would cut my head off.' Palmerston about Convocation—'He will do whatever is popular. He has no feelings of his own on the subject.' Met ——,[6] a curious specimen of earnest Evangelical Protestant men, very narrow and earnest, ready to burn a Tractarian or spend himself in preaching the Gospel to the poor. A Lawyer in the Temple—a Bishop of Exeter on that side. Thought ill of Convocation, because the Bishop of Exeter supported it.

On February 23 Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert explained their reasons for resigning the offices they held in the now reconstituted Cabinet under Lord Palmerston. On the 26th, alluding to these resignations, the Bishop writing

[5] The well-known drawing of the dead Guardsman.
[6] A Clergyman.

to Mr. Gordon says, 'I have read the debate of Friday. I think Graham's, S. Herbert's, and Gladstone's speeches unanswerable. What a relief it must have been to Gladstone to be able to speak of your honoured father as he ought to be spoken of.'

To Mr. Gladstone the Bishop writes :—

As you are no longer a Cabinet Minister, I may venture to say to you, what I cannot help expressing, how entirely I agree with you in the course you have seen right to follow in these last difficulties, and how much I rejoice (deeply lamenting the probable effects of your absence from Lord Palmerston's Cabinet) that you have not continued in it on the condition of agreeing to this Committee. I think your speech perfectly unanswerable, as it was unanswered. It *is* refreshing to see somewhere amongst our Governors real loftiness of aim and purity of motive combined with great gifts of intellect. May God bless and keep you evermore. Will you send me back this letter of Sir Charles Anderson's? Amidst the abuse of 'The Times,' &c., it may be pleasant to you to see the judgment of an honest and true country gentleman.

Referring to the attacks made at this time on Mr. Gladstone's conduct, Mr. Keble thus expresses himself: 'I cannot tell you (the Bishop) how grieved I am at the injustice which seems to me in progress towards the only trustworthy statesman of the time.'

March 7.—Early Church. Breakfasted with Bishop of London, who I fear wears a good deal. Then wrote and then to Cathedral Commission where till levee, to which with Bishops of London and New Zealand. Back to National School Committee and thence to Cathedral Commission—where till late. Dined with Sir W. Farquhar to meet Gladstone. Courtenays and Walter James; a pleasant evening, quiet and sensible. A great deal of talk with Gladstone about his seat. He disposed to relinquish it and on noble

grounds—that the University would get a better representative if they had a free choice ; than if merely brought in by the Bigotry party in opposition to him. Gladstone had distinctly asked Palmerston before he joined whether he would oppose Roebuck's Committee and joined on the distinct answer that he would. Gladstone expects that the thing which must floor them is the ordinary business of the Session. Already he understands there are discomforts from incompetency for business, he expects they will make a very short session and dissolve in order to escape questions of legislation.

The following conversations took place at Broughton Castle, where the Bishop was staying, he being at the time on a Confirmation tour. After recording the work of the day, the diary goes on as follows :—

March 17.— . . . . Much interesting conversation. Count Strzlecki said : 'The Bishop of Exeter having been with the late Archbishop (Howley) and denounced him, without producing any effect, at last, when leaving him, said : "Well, my dear Lord, I shall go home and pray for your Grace." Then at last the Archbishop was moved, and, turning ashy pale, said : "No, don't do *that*, I pray you ; that is unfair ; anything but that."' Lord Overstone's high opinion of Gladstone : 'He has some faults ; he is too apt to meddle, and his bonds, &c., were a mistake ; but he has put the finance of the country on a firm footing by his income and succession tax. No one but he could have done it. I am not sure that Pitt could have done it ; but no one else could. He is a man for whom I could feel an enthusiasm. I could serve under him, and really warm in defending him. A great mistake to suppose that by *any* legislation you can throw on posterity a portion of your burden. The money *must* be raised from the present capital of the country. The real question is, on what classes of the country you will throw the burden—on the rich, whose capital is in hand, or on the poor, on labour and industry and work, where it is longer being paid. It seems to

me that no one except Gladstone clearly sees this. I hope he will not throw himself away by acting under Lord Derby.'

April 8, Easter Sunday.—To Chapel Royal. I preached with interest. Gladstone, amongst others, to whom went afterwards, and had a talk. He for a temporary absence from every day House of Commons work, to let parties *re*form. Noble as ever. His 'sympathies with Conservatives, his opinions with Liberals.' No good to the Church to come from Parliament; it must be developed from within. He would not go on in politics to the end on any consideration. Never could regret having formed part of Lord Aberdeen's Administration. No other man *could* and *would* have done so much for the Church. Lord Derby less hostile to the Church than Peel.

The following entry shows what Lord Aberdeen's intentions were towards the Bishop, had he had the opportunity.

April 14.—Talk to-night with Arthur Gordon. Lord Aberdeen had fully purposed to offer me Durham, with succession here (Oxford) to Randall, and view to York. He (Lord Aberdeen) said: 'Why did he go and get made a Bishop? He ought to have been Chancellor in our Cabinet.'

On April 16 the Emperor and Empress of the French arrived at Dover on a visit to the Queen. They were received at Dover by Prince Albert and arrived at Windsor the same evening. On the 18th the Emperor was installed as Knight of the Garter. The following is the account of the ceremony as taken from the diary. The Bishop, as will be remembered, was Chancellor of the Order.

April 18.—After breakfast and early letters off to Oxford, whence by train to Windsor. Chapter of the Garter for the Emperor of the French. The Emperor looking exulting

and exceedingly pleased. A very full Chapter. The Duke of Buckingham coming unsummoned, and not asked to remain to the dinner. After the Chapter the Emperor sent for me, that I might be presented, and talked awhile. He said, 'This is a remarkable event in my life.' The Emperor rather mean-looking, small, and a tendency to embonpoint; a remarkable way, as it were, of swimming up a room with an uncertain gait; a small grey eye, looking cunning, but with an aspect of softness about it too. The Empress, a peculiar face from the arched eyebrows, blonde complexion; an air of sadness about her, but a person whose countenance at once interests you. The Banquet magnificent; I between Baroness —— and Miss ——, who lively and pleasant; she told me the Queen was very nervous on their arrival, waited a long time; at last heard of them reaching the station. The Queen went down and received them at the carriage door. As soon as the Empress saw her she stood up in the carriage; the Emperor jumped out, and the Queen saluted him; the Empress and he were apparently very nervous. The Empress fearful of the Queen not liking her; the Queen soon put her at her ease. At night the Queen spoke to me: 'All went off very well, I think: I was afraid of making some mistake. You would not let me have in writing what I was to say to him. Then we put the riband on wrong! But I think it all went off well, on the whole.' The Baroness who sat near me was most wonderfully got up as a work of art; the mixture of sulphur yellow with violet in colour, &c., very fine.

May 13, *Sunday*.—Preached at St. Pancras Church to a vast congregation. Then to luncheon with Canon Dale. After luncheon walked through heavy rain to hear Maurice at Lincoln's Inn. Walked away with W. Cowper, who sounded me about Bishops, in case of Bishop of Bangor's death.

The diary of May 15 records the last meeting of the Cathedral Commission, the sittings of which have been so frequently mentioned. That the Report was the Bishop's is shown by an entry on June 25: 'With the Prince. He abused the Cathedral Commissioners

Report. I defended and owned it. He would have had residence for three months. No living to pay scientific clergymen, &c. A natural view from his standing place.'

The following entry refers to Church rates: 'May 19.—With Bishop of London to Lord Derby on Church Rates. He *very* quick and able. He suggested important alterations, but favourable on the whole to Bill.'

June 26.—To Convocation Committee. Bishops London, Exeter, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Chichester agreed to my plan. Then Religious Worship Committee. Agreed to get my Bill printed. Dined with H. Hoare, and then to a large gathering of his Convocation Society men, and explained my views to them.

June 28.—Drew up Report and Resolution for Convocation. With the Bishop of London to Dean's Yard. Opposed by the Archbishop, Bishops of Lincoln, St. Asaph, and Winchester; but carried my address to the Queen.

June 30.—A long interview with Lord Derby on the Religious Worship Bill,[7] he very friendly. We talked over the Church Discipline Bill also.

July 2.—Committee on Religious Worship Bill: carried my proposal. Lord Derby laid the bill on the table.

July 6.—Interview with Lord Derby who firm, and Bishop of London who wavering, and after I had re-established him, found that —— had been alarming him. Debate. Lord Shaftesbury more than usually vivacious, angry, insinuating, overbearing and insulting. Archbishop spoke out as to his Bill. I tried with temper and reserve to show the tone of his speech, I hope not quite in vain.

In August Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gordon paid the Bishop a visit at Lavington. They arrived on the

[7] A Bill to allow more than twenty persons to meet in an unregistered building for the purposes of religious worship.

6th, and the diary describes Lord Aberdeen as being 'full of admiration.'

On August 7 the diary entry is as follows :—

Walked over the hill with Lord Aberdeen. A great deal of talk with him. His wonderful forgiveness of Lord John. Fully feeling all his misconduct, but seeing good things in him. He said : 'My *εὐθανασία* would have been to have made a just peace and been turned out for it—but not by Roebuck, or rather Lord John. We ought not to have resisted Roebuck's motion ; we ought to have consented, and moved that the enquiry should be by the whole House. Lord John was all for war ; he cares for nothing but his office, and sees they could make no peace which would not turn them out of office. Gladstone intends to be Prime Minister. He has great qualifications, but some serious defects. The chief, that when he has convinced himself, perhaps by abstract reasoning, of some view, he thinks everyone else ought at once to see it as he does, and can make no allowance for difference of opinion. Gladstone must thoroughly recover his popularity. This unpopularity is merely temporary. He is supreme in the House of Commons. The Queen had quite got over her feeling against him, and liked him much. Just now we are all in disfavour at Court. The Queen going to Paris will stir up for a little while the martial ardour of France, but the French are getting weary of the war and will soon show it. The Queen, that is, the Prince, is decidedly warlike at present ; that is, he thinks we must have a success before we stop.'

In the afternoon the party at the house drove and rode to Cowdray Park, Midhurst and West Lavington, visited Mr. Cobden at his country house of Dunsford and persuaded him to come to Lavington that night to dine and sleep. The diary goes on :—

Cobden strong in his pro-Russian convictions. Lord Aberdeen said, 'three-fourths of Gladstone's speech in the

last debate quite admirable.' Sir James Graham had told him that he thought nothing finer had ever been delivered in our best days. Great cordiality now between Sir James Graham and Gladstone—not quite between the latter and the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen went on to say, 'I have told Gladstone that when he is Prime Minister I will have a seat in his Cabinet if he desires it, without an office. I wonder whether Lord Harrowby knows that when I formed my Government I was very anxious to have him as President of the Council; but Lord John would not hear of it.'

October 6.—(The Bishop was at Fulham with the Bishop of London.) Walked with the Bishop and talked as to subjects before us. (1) As to Convocation and our line. He assents to my view that, having done what we can to get our instrument perfected, we must use the present, and that time for full discussion is *the* requisite. (2) The Divorce and Marriage question . . . for which Gladstone strongly disposed to a concordat securing the Church's law for the Church, and allowing Dissenters to take their line. But query, can we with our little discipline maintain such a line? Oh! our multiplying embarrassments from concessions and inconsistencies. (3) The Church Discipline and Court of Appeal, as to which I suggested my views. (4) Church Rates. (5) The Jewish Lord Mayor. A letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury asking me to come to Addington on Monday for conference. Bishop of London urging me to go.

October 8.—To Croydon and Addington, sat awhile with Archbishop, who all kindness. Then dinner, Bishop of Winchester coming first to my room; specially affectionate.

October 9 (*Addington*).—The Bishop of Winchester at breakfast, and saw him off. A walk with the Archbishop till luncheon; talked fully over all prospects and things. He agreed in all views. Agreed to Lower House of Convocation sitting, unless disturbed by Government, as long as needed for discussion of Church application to present wants. Agreed to call Bishops together for November 20.

October 13 (*Salisbury*).—At the Palace, among others, Count Strzlecki. He told us an extraordinary story of sec-

ing Russian priest come in. All kneeling on one knee, kissing his hand and seeking his benediction. This done, his robes taken off, and the Colonel turned to him, 'You rascal, you have been drunk again, eh? Now you shall catch it.' So two soldiers pinioned him, and administered at once sixty-four blows. Then robed him again, and again kissed hands, &c. Sidney Herbert related how, when the Emperor went at one feast to kiss the officiating priest's hand, and he, terrified, rather drew it back, the Emperor said, 'Imbécile, ce n'est pas *toi*.' Strzlecki also told us of Whately: he (S.) present when old Lord Bessborough was Lord-Lieutenant (Ireland, 1846), and very well got-up. Whately, at a council, shuffled about his legs till he got one foot into Lord Bessborough's coat-pocket. Lord B., feeling for something, was astonished, and gave a start. The Archbishop struggled to remove his foot, and the conjoint effect of struggle and start was to tear in two the coat from the collar to the skirt.

October 22 (*Hawarden*).—Walked with Gladstone and R. Phillimore. Much talk with Gladstone as to the Supreme Courts of Appeal. His weighty objections to my plan. As to the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, would *in limine* complain of the treatment of having bills involving these great constitutional principles of the Church brought in, unsettling all things, with no reasonable hope of carrying them. Would have the Bishops say, Show us your measure, and before we enter on it inform us what relation it bears to your other sessional measures. Is it, with the exception of the war, &c., to be *the* measure which you mean to press forward with the whole force of your Government? If not, we must protest against this way of dealing with such subjects. He and Phillimore very strong against the seven Chancellors. First, an entire alteration, for no sufficient purpose, of all our proceedings. Secondly, an entire variation from the whole canon law of Western Christendom of all times. Thirdly, because it is an attempt to throw the English and Irish Establishments into a sort of hotchpot; with the view no doubt of strengthening, but with the high probability, by stirring up opposition, of weakening the Irish branch and certainly

injuring the English. Further, as to the Supreme Court, he would place, 1st, the old Bill of the Bishop of London,[8] with Lord Derby's suggested amendment, *i.e.* a reference which need not be binding to the Bishops of the Province, who should be bound to hear theological arguments thereon and return their opinion; 2ndly, a repeal of the Act of Will. IV., so as simply to return to the old law; 3rdly, standing still; 4thly, the letting the lay court, as a lay court, decide the individual cause, and trying to guard the precedent. Gladstone looks forward to clerical Chancellors when the clergy are educated for it hereafter.

On November 7 the Bishop went abroad with his eldest son Herbert, who had returned home ill from the Baltic. He had grave apprehensions already as to his health. As shown by entries in the diary; October 4, 'Herbert came home coughing. His cough goes through my heart.' On the 6th Dr. Acland made a thorough examination and reported that the disease (enlargement of the heart) had increased. It was for change, as well as to be alone with the son, of whom owing to his profession, the Navy, the Bishop had seen so little, that this trip was taken. On the 11th they were at St. Ouen, and on entering the Cathedral they found an Abbé—Abbé de Blé—catechising the junior class in the Lady Chapel. The Bishop sat down to listen, and, as he says, he found it instructive; his account of it is given. He says:—

The Abbé was perfectly familiar, making them laugh freely and then gathering them up into seriousness, and so keeping the attention of their young minds through a good hour. *Q.* 'What is God?' 'A Spirit.' 'Can you see a spirit?' 'Have you a spirit—what is it?' 'My soul.' 'Come now, Mademoiselle B.: you are a *savant*, did you ever see your soul?'

[8] 1850.

NOTTINGH

'No.' 'What, never?' 'Are you sure?' &c. 'Then why, if God is a Spirit, and cannot be seen, is He painted as a very old man with hair so white and so white a beard?' No answer. 'It is a representation, my children, to teach you, not that God has a form like an old man, but that He has perfectly all that old men are supposed to have. An old man has lived long. God has lived for ever. An old man has wisdom, judgment. God is allwise. The Judge, *voyons*. God is perfection. Now, what is perfection?' A pause; and then a girl said, 'When a thing is *bien fait*.' With both hands up and an air of wonder, the Priest, '*Bien fait, bien fait.* Can anyone say better?' Another girl: 'Perfection is a quality of goodness.' 'Yes, that is better. Perfection is a quality of goodness which cannot be better. So now we say: God is perfectly wise; *i.e.* He knows everything. Does He? Does He know French, Spanish, Latin, English? Yes, God knows all, but does He know quite all?' One girl: 'Yes, everything.' The Priest: 'All, everything, you say, but not what you think? You are set to do some lesson or to learn some task, it is hard and tiresome; but you say nothing, only you think in your minds, Ah, this is tiresome! Your mamma does not know that. Do you mean to tell me God knows that?' 'Yes, He does.' 'Oh, but that is impossible?' 'No, He does.' 'Are you quite sure?' 'Yes, He does.' 'Then He is the Creator of all. What is to create?' An answer given which I could not catch, which set all the girls laughing, in which he joined. Then another said, 'To make a thing to be.' The Priest: 'Yes; but does everyone who makes a thing to be, create—does the painter?' Then a description of making the picture to be, and an explanation why that was not creating. Then the same of statuary. Then he deduced that creating was making to be out of nothing. 'Now,' he said, 'when I was young I used to like to see the conjurors, and they could bring things out of nothing. They could bring a pigeon out of a bottle: flowers, ay, and a rabbit out of a hat where none was.' (Great laughter among the children at this.) 'Were they creators?' This then explained, and so the further definition reached that creating was the making a thing to be, out of nothing, by the mere

exercise of the will, illustrated by, 'If one of you children could stretch out your hand and say, I *will* that it be full of money, or full of bon-bons—because to you bon-bons are better than money (great laughter); and then, because you willed it, it was so, that would be creating.' At the end of the catechising they all knelt down and repeated with him a prayer. I joined him as they broke up, and beginning by expressing a hope that the presence of a stranger had not disturbed his young charge, soon got into conversation: about the Church, &c. He said soon, 'Is Monsieur Catholique?' I said, 'Yes, truly and really Catholique; though perhaps Monsieur would not be able to call him so, for I am of the old Catholic Church in England from the beginning—in doctrine, in faith, in succession.' Then a brief friendly argument ensued. 'We had left the Pope?' 'No, he had wrongfully cast *us* out; we had only cast off false doctrine.' But we had left St. Peter. 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock.' *I*: 'Not to Peter as a person.' He granted it. 'As an Apostle, yes.' 'Then we, who hold to the Chair of the Apostles, hold to Peter.' 'But why not unite?' I told him I would give anything for union if we could have it without uniting in error. 'What errors?' I said, 'To name only one, the Adoration of the Virgin.' 'But Monsieur does not believe that *I* adore the Virgin! I do but ask her to pray for me.' 'I do not say *you* adore her, but I say that the mass of your people do.' 'Ah! but have you not errors amongst your people at home, yet you do not charge them on yourself?' 'Abundance, doubtless, and I am not blind to them. But your language causes them.' 'What language, for instance?' 'Use a mother's rights, command your Son.' 'Oh! but that is only an oratorical expression.' We parted friendly, he being compelled to go to Vespers.

The Bishop also listened to an older class being catechised by another priest, whom he described as not equal to Monsieur de Blé, but of the same type, mingling amusement with seriousness as a means of keeping their attention. The lesson began at four and finished at half-past five. The diary ends thus :—

I walked down the vast Church almost in darkness, save the light from the Lady Chapel, whence the voices of the young women singing their hymns in French were borne solemnly and sweetly down. Home to Inn—a fall on the rough stones—and dined in my room with dear Herbert.

On the 13th the Bishop went to Paris, staying, however, at his brother William's house at St. Germain's. He expected to have met his other brother Robert, but found he had left for Italy. The following entries describe the close of the Exhibition and some conversations with Mignet the historian and M. Thiers. It is noticeable how the Bishop and M. Thiers agreed in their estimation of the Emperor's speech.

November 15.—To Paris early with Herbert and to the close of the Exhibition. A magnificent sight from the vast multitude present. Lord Hertford told me afterwards, it was estimated that 32,000 were there. The Emperor's speech perfectly distinct—very aggressive—not a little so in direct language, and made more so by the accent of vigour with which different and the most warlike parts were delivered. Out (to St. Germain's) at night. Much talk with the Abbé Codant; on Missions. In instructed places mainly the sermon is trusted to. In ignorant parts processions, expositions of the Sacrament, &c. The Abbé said, devotion spreading in the towns and amongst the more educated, but not so amongst the country people. There remains the effect of the old Revolution and though some whole districts are full of devout people, yet as a rule, the country people are the irreligious. He said the Church was most thankful for the Emperor, as staying evil. But no trust in him. His bad past life—his still employing workmen on Sundays, &c. His power could not last. All accepted, none trusted him. He seemed to think the old French hatred to England was really unabated, dating from the English invasions of France, Joan of Arc, &c., and he could scarcely believe that the English feeling against France was at all *really* abated.

November 16.—To Paris. To Hotel Cluny. Prosper Mérimée, Mons. Guizot. He said that the Emperor very moderate on all things internal. Will go so far as ever your country wishes in the war. All accept him. Dined afterwards with Thiers, meeting Mignet, Cousin, &c. Much talk with Mignet, who sat next me at dinner. He, viewing the religious question as manifestly apart from it, acknowledged the great increase of devotion specially amongst the men; attributed the evident liberality of the French to the influence of Voltaire, &c.; saw risings of intolerance amongst the religious of France. Bishop of Orleans elected a member of the Institute for his maintenance of the Classical Education side of the argument amongst his brethren. Spoke much of the day of reckoning which would come upon the French clergy when the Emperor fell. They had used democratic language, spoken of the Cross of Christ as the tree of liberty, so in 1848 cared for and preserved. But how would it be in the next outbreak? All their present support of the destroyer of liberty would then be remembered. Then he said that there was no public opinion in France. It requires debates, newspaper discussions, &c., to create a public opinion. Now these are gone, there can be with us no public opinion. He spoke strongly of the Emperor's wastefulness and improvidence. This the rock ahead. France very rich, but such a course as his must bring poverty. The very reverse of his uncle, who was most careful as to money. Then this man had such a set of *coquins* round him. Much talk of his Exhibition speech. Most impudent and aggressive. Thiers adds, 'and in very bad taste, making such a company the depositary of his political statements.'

The following letter to Sir Charles Anderson, written after the Bishop's return to England, mentions, amongst other matters, an interview with the Emperor on the 17th.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir C. Anderson.

The Grange, Nov. 28, 1855.

My dearest Anderson,—Your kind letter of Nov. 5 found me in my brother William's house at St. Germain's. Robert was a week gone to Italy, and, finding Herbert much wished it, I took a run over with him from the 8th to the 21st. We saw well the Exhibition—saw its close—Rouen, Chartres, Amiens—and I picked up a good deal of knowledge about the French, specially that they really hate us just as much as ever, and do not believe in the slightest alteration in our feelings towards them. I have no doubt that they are just as ready as ever they were to turn upon us, either with or without their Emperor as suits them. I had one evening at the Tuileries, when he was exceedingly civil, and she very pleasant. I had a great deal of talk with her and a good deal with him. In one respect our little trip did not answer at all. Herbert was not well enough to enjoy it. He has come back from the Baltic in a state which gives me the most serious apprehensions. I accepted this invitation here very much for the sake of bringing him; but when it came to the point he was not well enough to come. His *heart* is the part affected, and how it will go with us God knows. And now I want you to fix the day of your coming, and to tell me how many you can bring. The more the better for us. Will Wednesday after the Epiphany do for you? It will be a convenience for us to know as soon as you can tell me. Indeed, I am quite down about the See of London. I *now* have very little hope of the Bishop rallying—and a Palmerston appointment to that See!! Well, my hope is in God's tender mercy to His Church. We may pray.

The following letters relate to the meeting of Convocation in the ensuing year:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, December 26, 1855.

My dear Gladstone,—With a view to our conversation on the subject of Convocation. We are to meet on FRIDAY, Feb. 1. The *first* day, therefore, might be given by the Lower House to the subjects the Dean proposes, and Saturday and Monday to the Church Extension; and we might, if need were, prorogue before Parliament meets on the Monday; before which there is no chance of Lord Palmerston being pushed to take any step against us. But beyond the question of the probable interruption of our proceedings, there is another as to whether we should limit ourselves to recommitting the subject, or continue the discussion in the Houses. I shall be greatly obliged to you for any confidential advice you may be able to give me on the subject.

I trust that this Christmas time has found you and all yours flourishing and well. I know you will sympathise with me when I tell you that overwork and anxiety in doing his duty have sent me home my eldest son from the Baltic so ill that I hardly dare anticipate what may be before me.

With all Christmas good wishes to Mrs. Gladstone, I am, very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, December 30, 1855.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I was much concerned to find that your letter, laden with matters of such deep public concern, had also to convey to me your domestic anxieties on a point so tender, but I trust that the uncertainty which was before you may mercifully have been turned, or may yet turn, to cheerful anticipation. My first impression with respect to Convocation is that having three full days of busi-

ness before you, it would be well not to run any risks by pushing beyond that limit if you can avoid it. I feel how heavy is the responsibility of misusing any of the Church of England's slender chances, and I write with dread. I can write nothing but what is desultory: on the 12th, however, I hope to be at Hagley, and on or about the 19th in London, and my time is at your disposal if I can be of use. I feel much pressed, as to the important matter of the services, between difficulties arising from opposite quarters. To digest the whole subject, and present a plan having a fair promise of finality, seems to require time: on the other hand, it would be a strong objection to the proposed change in the Act of Uniformity that it was obviously incomplete, and to be followed by other changes. I do not like the idea that Convocation should ask for a Commission; but if you could rely on the appointment of prudent men I should not be sorry to see the Archbishops move the Government to appoint a Commission to consider of a plan to be laid before Convocation. This I presume would be conformable to the precedents both of the Restoration and of the Revolution. A moderate representation of the laity in such a Commission might have its advantages. In the copies of any Address to the Crown, I should not forget praying for a Tribunal of Appeal becomingly constituted, and representing in solemn words on behalf of the Church that she is greatly straitened in the recovery and care of souls by the present state of the law as to her services. I expect to be here until over the 7th.—Ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The following, the last entry in the diary quoted in this year, refers to the illness of the Bishop of London, from which he recovered only however to resign the See in 1856.

December 15.—To Nuneham. Found Lady Waldegrave at home, who began about Bishopric of London, and her wish to see me there. The Whigs 'afraid of you.' Had talked about it at Woburn, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

(1854–56.)

HERBERT WILBERFORCE — APPOINTMENT AS LIEUTENANT — THE BISHOP'S LETTER OF ADVICE—LIEUTENANT WILBERFORCE GOES TO THE BLACK SEA—VOLUNTEERS FOR THE TRENCHES—RETURN TO ENGLAND—SAILS FOR THE BALTIC—RETURNS TO ENGLAND—ILLNESS—THE BISHOP'S APPREHENSIONS—LETTER TO MR. CAVENDISH—TORQUAY—HERBERT'S DEATH—LETTERS FROM THE REV. H. E. MANNING AND MR. GLADSTONE—LETTER FROM ARCHDEACON RANDALL.

THE letter to Sir C. Anderson of November 28 shows how seriously the Bishop was alarmed by the state of health of his eldest son Herbert, then a lieutenant in the Royal Navy.

Herbert William was born on June 29, 1833. After a short time at Eton he went to sea in 1845, at twelve years of age; returned for a few weeks in 1848, when, as midshipman, he went to the Pacific for a three years' cruise; in 1852 he was again but a fortnight at home, sailing as mate on board the 'Britannia' for the Mediterranean. He came home in March 1854; remaining in England until May, to pass the necessary examination for his lieutenancy. This was his longest stay at home since he left it almost a child. The Bishop saw him off in the 'Simla,' Peninsular and Oriental steamer, to rejoin his ship the 'Britannia,' then at the seat of war.[1] The following

[1] The declaration of war was made on March 28, 1854.

entry from the diary gives a description of the parting :—

Up at 5.30 after a night of much wakefulness. Herbert ever on my mind, so that when I was asleep dreams would recur to wake me. Off with him at a quarter to seven for Romsey. Drove to the docks at Southampton, and found the 'Simla.' Examined his cabin, and after a while got him one to himself. Small, but opening out of the great saloon. Sat with him in his cabin ; prayed with him, and blessed him. He full of affection and many tears. 'I hope soon to be back again with you. But if anything should happen to me, and I did not come back, do not sorrow too much for me. It is a good cause, and I will strive to watch and pray against my faults, and to be ready.'

The following letter of advice and counsel was written immediately after Herbert's appointment to the 'Trafalgar' as lieutenant. A short note had previously conveyed the news of his promotion in the words, 'So you are a lieutenant before you are twenty-one.'

The Bishop of Oxford to Lieutenant Wilberforce, R.N.

Sunningdale, July 10, 1854.

My dearest Herbert,—I am beginning to crave very much for a letter, as one or two Admiralty despatches have come in, and brought nothing from you. I reckon that just about this time you will receive my last letter, telling you that you were appointed lieutenant. Since then you are *appointed* to the 'Trafalgar.' I know not whether you will have heard of this before. But now, my dearest son, I want to say to you two things which I exceedingly want you to think about. 1. Every man's best education is that which he gives himself. Now, when you were a boy, I tried as hard as any man could to give you a good education. All that depended on natural

good sense and tact (two quite inestimable possessions), and on the affections, we got well on with. But we did not so much prosper with literature ; you had not a natural turn for it, and I could not make you industrious enough to overcome the first difficulties which stood in your way. This, then, you have still to do ; and I want you *really* to set yourself to this, now that you are rising in your profession. You will be called on, it may be very soon, for what will require this. Now I mean such things, first, as writing and spelling easily ; secondly, a knowledge of history ; and after this, poetry and philosophy. Now, I want *you* to feel this, and then you will soon be educated, because you will begin the great work of self-education. I want you (1) to read every day some really useful book—the History of England you should know thoroughly. (2) I want you to practise yourself in writing. Write anything, but take pains to write it well. Write an account of the history you have just read ; write an account of what you do and hear on shipboard ; write *descriptions* of *scenery*, of any *birds*, *men*, or *things* you see ; of anything which goes on. This you will find *most* valuable—only give yourself trouble in doing it. Force yourself to take the trouble of overcoming difficulties : do not be satisfied till you have got a real and full description of what you have seen well down on paper. If you will send me any such writing I will remark on it, correct it, and send it back to you ; and in a very little time all will come easy to you. Now do try this, my beloved Herbert. Then the second thing I want to say is this : Rise up to your new position. Put away the narrowness of the midshipmen's mess. Do not allow yourself to *think* of your Captain as being your enemy &c. ; but throw yourself into the spirit of your noble profession. Remember how everything now depends on yourself. As a midshipman you were thought of as a boy. Tempers, passions, and any other faults were *punished*—your leave stopped, &c. ; and then they passed away. It will not be so now. *Now* you stand alone in the great life-struggle. I can help you far less than before. You must help yourself. Watch your temper ; pray against giving

way to it; you will find a great help against it in the self-education I have spoken of before. As your mind opens, and takes a greater interest in other things, you will be less tempted to irritation by those round you. I have only two things more to say—First, make the men under you love you, and they will serve you well; show them that you care about *them*, about their *feelings*, and they will soon serve you for love: there is a man's heart at the bottom in the worst of them. Secondly, remember God's Eye, Christ's Cross, and the free Pardon for sin which it has brought for you; and that God's Holy Spirit *will* help you against all temptations if you will pray. May God Almighty bless you.

The next letter gives a short account of the Bishop's doings, as well as of the narrow escape of the Czar.

Near Carmarthen, Aug. 7, 1854.

My beloved Herbert,—Here am I sitting in a railroad carriage with Mrs. Sargent and your three brothers. We are going down to Tenby, a sea place in South Wales, chiefly that —— and —— may have a little sea bathing. We have been paying short visits to the Bishops of Llandaff and of St. David's, and the boys have been very happy fishing, &c. My beloved son, my heart is very full about you. I hear of this attack at Sebastopol, and I hardly dare think of the dangers to which you may be exposed. But I pray without ceasing for you. Pray for yourself, my beloved son, that God may enable you to behave well wherever you may be placed, and may fit you for whatever He may appoint. Oh! I shall long to hear the issue of this great attempt. We hear to-day of the narrow escape of the Emperor of Russia and the Grand Duke Constantine, and several others of his family. They all went out in a steamer to try and take Lord Lichfield's yacht, that had come very near Cronstadt. But the 'Leopard' came out against them, and delivered Lord Lichfield's yacht. She then left the Russian steamer, little dreaming of the prize on board her. If she had but sunk or taken that vessel, the war would have been over.

In August, when returning from this trip, the Bishop writes: 'We are going at the end of the week to Lavington, and there I shall miss you more than ever.' Many diary entries show how closely the Bishop connected Herbert with Lavington, where he hoped that he would have succeeded him. Entries recording some improvement made, or piece of land bought: 'Planted trees for Herbert.' 'Bought such a piece of land, though I pinched myself sorely to do it, as it will be a good thing for Herbert.' Even as in his later years he bought books in duplicate out of what he called his pocket money (money made by what he published) for his two clerical sons, that each might have a copy. The next letter shows in the Bishop's own words how deep was the love for him to whom he wrote as 'his best beloved son.'

Lavington, Aug. 27, 1854.

My beloved Herbert,—We reached this dear place on Saturday evening, and my heart craves more than ever after you. I think of you continually, and pray for you, as perhaps now in all the danger of storming Sebastopol. I will try to get one or two books together, which may be useful to you, and send them out to you. But, besides books, you may do a great deal for yourself by listening in good society to conversation, and trying to accustom yourself to join easily in it. This place is in great beauty. I had been a little overworked when I came from London, but am better already. We watch the post from the Black Sea now as the most interesting thing in the world to us. It sounds delightful to think of having you at home in the winter, but I suppose your time is *now* very valuable to you for your two years' service.

Many will remember how truly the following notes portray the feeling in England at this time.

The first letter, written in September, refers to

Archdeacon Wilberforce's resignation of his preferments, the step which preceded his secession to the Church of Rome.[2]

The Bishop of Oxford to Lieutenant Wilberforce, R.N.

Lavington, Sept. 12, 1854.

My beloved Herbert,—I am incessantly thinking of you and of the dangers to which you may at this very moment be exposed at Sebastopol. May our gracious God have you in His safe keeping, and He who kept you from the cholera keep you from the danger of your enemies. We have been here now some time, and had most beautiful weather—not a drop of rain, and hardly a cloud day after day. The Bishop of London, Mrs. Blomfield, Lucy, and Dora have been visiting us. They all properly admired this beautiful place. I am looking you out a few books to send: one set on matters of *science* which come into everyday affairs, and one on *history* which you should know. I hope, my beloved son, you will *study* them, and that you will take care of the books for me. I have just had a very heavy sorrow which has been pressing hard on me. My beloved brother, the Archdeacon, has been persuaded, as I believe, by H. E. Manning and H. W. Wilberforce, to give up his preferment in the Church, and retire into lay communion, and I have but little hope that it will end here, as I fully expect they will never rest until they draw him on to join the Church of Rome. May God avert it. I believe that Church to be thoroughly corrupt, and I view her with a mixture of disgust, hatred, and terror, which makes his taking this step most bitterly painful to me, I believe very much in consequence of this I have lately been far from strong. We are to stay here until Wednesday week, and then I go to Cuddesdon for the Ordination. I shall greatly regret the ending of this visit, as I love better being here and near to your sainted mother's grave than in any other place in the world.

[2] Vide 1854.

October 18, 1854.—This suspense and silence from Sebastopol fill our hearts with fear; may God send us some glad tidings soon. This day two years you left me to join the 'Britannia.' How much has happened since! May God, if it be His blessed will, keep us for a happy meeting. I am just going on my visitation, and a Bishop's charge is almost as fearful to him as a regiment's charge is to it. We have no public news just now—all eyes strained into the Black Sea, to know what you are all doing there.

October 27, 1854.—We are still waiting with hushed anxiety for some news of you all, but none comes at present; though, if the grand attack *was* made, as you expected, upon the 18th, we must soon be hearing something. May God protect you. Trench[3] has written some spirit-stirring lines on the Alma; if I can I will send them you. He has a soldier's heart under his cassock. I have been thinking of volunteering to go out and look after the clergy, but I hardly know how to be away, or to run the risk of missing you if you should get home for the winter. God bless you, my best beloved son.

November 8.—I cannot tell you how our eyes are strained towards you. Everywhere, and in all companies, we talk of nothing else from morning till night than Sebastopol and what you are all doing.

Writing at the end of the year, the Bishop thus refers to Lieutenant Wilberforce's volunteering for the trenches.

December 24, 1854.—All Christmas blessings be with you, my most beloved son. I have this day received yours of the 8th of December, and it has filled my heart with joy to see your brave manly temper in wishing to get back to the trenches, and my father's heart with fear for you if you do. May our gracious God direct all, and shelter you from sickness and every evil. All your brothers are here and very nice.

[3] The Archbishop of Dublin.

But my heart seems to be always with my absent sailor, and their ringing laugh only sends my thoughts the quicker and the straighter back to you. I have been preaching two sermons to-day, and now it is near dinner, and we shall drink your health to-day and to-morrow. I have got a print from a sketch of O'Reilly's of the action[4] and of your ship, and I am having it framed from love of you, to hang up and remind us always of you. Bless you, my darling.

In April 1855 the 'Trafalgar' arrived in England, and the Bishop writes: 'Welcome home, my beloved son, from the cholera[5] and the bullets of the Russians. May I truly thank God for having spared you.' Herbert remained, however, but a few days in England, being appointed to the 'Hawke,' Captain Ommaney, in which ship he went to the Baltic. The 'Hawke' was employed on coasting service, necessitating continual boat work. Although pressed by his captain to spare himself, Lieutenant Wilberforce was constantly out with the boats, and the exposure told on a frame already weakened by the fatigues of the Crimea. On his return to England in October 1855, the Bishop found him 'thin, and coughing a great deal.' The diary of that year describes the trip abroad, from which he returned rather the worse than better.

In January 1856 his state caused grave alarm, and on the 5th Dr. Acland came over from Oxford, sleeping in the Bishop's own room as the house was full, in order to observe Herbert more closely; the next day he told the Bishop that the case, though very alarming, was not hopeless; many equally bad had recovered. The disease, however, made rapid progress;

[4] 'The Bombardment of Sebastopol by the Allied Fleets.' Lieutenant Wilberforce was on board the 'Trafalgar,' 120 guns.

[5] The cholera in the fleet in August 1854.

and on the 18th Dr. Acland reported him much worse. On the 26th the diary is: 'I very very low; great strife with myself to keep from bursting into tears at dinner; felt as if food would choke me.'

The Bishop thus writes to his friend Mr. Cavendish:—

Cuddesdon, Feb. 6, 1856.

My dear Cavendish,—I *must* send one line in answer to your most kind note. I was longing to hear of you and thank you heartily for writing. Herbert has the most lively recollection of you, and I gave him your message. He is *very* ill. I have indeed hardly a hope left, and it is an almost disabling blow: but I trust that our gracious Lord will strengthen me to bear it without dishonouring Him. The change wrought in my dear boy's mind is wonderful. His tenderness and piety are come as the crown of the manful and courageous uprightness by which he has been always distinguished. But it *is* a bitter grief. Pray for us. I am ever, my dear Cavendish, your very affectionate,

S. Oxon.

On February 11 the Bishop and Mrs. Sargent went with Herbert to Torquay, not indeed hoping that the change would do good—they knew that recovery was hopeless—but because of Herbert's great and longing desire for one more sight of the sea he so loved. On the 14th, work long arranged for in the diocese compelled the unwilling father to leave him. The diary record is:—

Up early and found dearest Herbert looking on the sea from his bed and enjoying it. I walked on the rocks where I had walked of old with my beloved wife, and saw the same sea swelling into the same caves as when we used to watch it in 1826–7. How true the unsympathy as well as the sympathy of nature. Herbert down to breakfast and rather

comfortable. I off at eleven by express, writing hard all the way to Didcot at sermon for the University.

For the next few days the Bishop was confirming and preaching in the diocese, though he was 'longing to be at Torquay with my boy.'

He thus writes to Mr. Gordon :—

I am this week getting through a fortnight's confirmations, in order to be able to get next week, if not too late, at Torquay. I cannot say to you what being *away* just now is ; but I thought I had no right, with such uncertainty, to put off confirmations. The putting off so deranges whole parishes, and tells most on the best managed where all is most pointedly brought to a conclusion in time.

On the 25th an urgent letter summoned him to Torquay, when he at once saw the great progress the disease had made even in those few days. The next night the Bishop sat up with him who was so rapidly passing away. The love the father bore the son was fully returned. On the night he came Herbert said to him 'It is like an apparition of goodness to see you appear.' He begged the Bishop not to mourn for him, but said 'I have suffered nothing, but it is so hard to part from one so beloved.' On the 28th, just after the Bishop had left him for the night, he was re-summoned ; and in a few minutes all was over. The father closed the eyes of the son, saying, 'How often I have prayed that he might have closed mine.' The next morning he writes to Dr. Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury :—

I had no idea his end was so near. But as I sat beside him and held his hand I saw that he failed ; and as I was kneeling by him and saying the commendatory prayer, he really ceased to breathe, and that so gently and gradually

that when it was we know not. It was indeed a sore trial of faith to yield him up, and a bitter bitter pain. May God have mercy.

On Saturday, March 1, the mourning party left Torquay for Lavington, arriving there at 1 a.m. on Sunday morning. There Herbert was buried close to his mother, the space between the graves being only enough to receive the Bishop himself, who now rests in that peaceful churchyard with his loved ones. The diary of Sunday has this brief record : 'The funeral of my beloved son, after morning church. I cold at the time, overwhelmed after. Walked over the hill as usual.'

Out of the many beautiful letters of condolence two are selected. The first is from the Rev. H. E. Manning, the second from Mr. Gladstone.

78 South Audley Street, March 1, 1856.

My dear Bishop,—It would violate the affection of nearly five and twenty years, and the sacred memory of many common sorrows, if we were to be silent to each other at this moment. You know me too well not to know that you have been and are both in my heart and in my prayers ; and that the dear boy, whom our Heavenly Father has taken, was and is most fervently so. I believe few are more intimately united to your thoughts at this moment than I am ; and I am sure that few love you with a more true love : 'not in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth.' My heart is with you at Lavington in all its sorrows ; and I pray that all the gifts of solace needed for so great an affliction as the mourning for a first-born son may descend upon you from the Sacred Heart of our Divine Lord. Believe me, always your affectionate brother,

H. E. MANNING.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

March 2, 1856.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—We learned the sad news through your letter to Mrs. Herbert; and I cannot avoid writing a line to assure you that we are sharers in your grief. You are called to great powers and great duties, but certainly also to great trials and sorrows. I remember perceiving from a sermon you preached at the Consecration of a Church near Belvoir how deep was the old wound in your heart: none then knew how often and in how many ways it would be reopened. But an office such as that you bear, and in the times in which you bear it, may well require, to raise any man to the height of its work and its power, an unbounded discipline. It is difficult to express anything of sympathy and to refer to the fountain of help without seeming to teach: therefore let my words be few: and as through the Grace of God your strength has been equal to your day, so may it yet be and even more abundantly. We shall, perhaps, hear of you when you come to town: no long repose, I know, can be permitted you. Do not think of answering this, which I have written on my wife's part and my own. Ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The next letter is from the Bishop to Mr. Cavendish.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Lavington, March 3, 1856.

My dear Cavendish,—I must write you a line, if it is only so much as to grasp the hand you have so lovingly stretched out to me in my great sorrow. I know you will pray for me that it may not be fruitless: but that my stricken heart may yield to our Dear Lord a better service than it ever yet has rendered. My dear boys and Ella are all full

of kindness to me, and so is my son-in-law and Mrs. Sargent, and we had yesterday dearest Robert's eldest son William here—a very dear fellow. We laid the remains of my beloved one with only the breadth of my future grave between him and his blessed mother's. I expect to be at 26 Pall Mall some time on Wednesday night, and go back the next morning to my confirmations : at any time I shall be glad to see you. Dearest Mrs. Sargent bears up marvellously. We were both comforted beyond expression by the evidence my dear one afforded of the support and teaching of God's Holy Spirit. I am ever, my dear Cavendish, yours very affectionately,

S. Oxon.

The Bishop's power of resuming his wonted occupations at the call of duty is remarkably illustrated by the following letter written by Archdeacon Randall to Mr. Trench. It bears witness to the rapidity and sincerity with which he could pass from one state of feeling to another, throwing his whole heart into successive phases of emotion which in more sluggish natures would have been incompatible with each other. The Bishop had to resume his work of Confirmation which had been interrupted. He left Lavington on March 5. The day this letter was written the diary, after recording the day's work and the improvements or otherwise in the parishes, concludes with 'Very weary at night, a sad heart so increases fatigue.'

Archdeacon Randall to Rev. R. C. Trench.

Binfield, March 10, 1856.

My dear Trench,—If I had not been prepared for something wonderful by what you told me at Cuddesdon about the Bishop's conduct under a still more bitter bereavement, I should have been perfectly amazed at his self-command

and self-possession under his present loss. Herbert's funeral, as you are probably aware, took place at Lavington on Sunday the 2nd. The Bishop spent the two following days there, and sat up talking with the Bishop of Salisbury till two o'clock on Thursday morning. At 9.15 on that morning I joined him at the Euston Square station, and proceeded with him to Cheddington, where he preached at the re-opening of the restored church, and held a confirmation; and afterwards another confirmation at Wing: returning to Cheddington to dine and sleep. I am quite sure that no stranger could have guessed that anything particular had happened to him; though we who knew him could see that his face was drawn and wan. At one passage in his sermon, Bickersteth and I, who were sitting together, looked at each other, feeling that he spoke in reference to the history of the last few days; but *his* voice never faltered. Bickersteth and Lloyd were the only persons invited to meet him at dinner, so that he was quite among his intimates; but his conversation was as flowing, and almost as animated, as usual. In the carriage he talked over with me, with great minuteness, the Draft Report of the Committee of Lower House of Convocation on Clergy Discipline Act; and read me a sermon (an admirable one on the Atonement) which he had prepared to preach at Oxford on the 2nd, and had now consented, at the Vice-Chancellor's request to preach on the 9th (yesterday). In consequence of this request he had to alter several of his confirmations. The details of the arrangements were complicated; but he carried them all in his head as distinctly as if he had nothing else to think of. I left him on Friday evening; and Lloyd came into attendance on him, and is with him now. I am to join him again next Saturday at Eton. The order of his proceedings on the intermediate days has been so shifted about, first in consequence of his journey to Torquay, and then again on account of this sermon at Oxford, that I really cannot tell you where he will be on any day between this and Saturday. But on Saturday he will be quite sure, humanly speaking, to confirm in the afternoon at Eton, and there a letter will reach him. These

details will make you fear, as I do, that all this must be a heavy wear and tear upon the inward man. But what an astonishing creature he is! What is he made of? What is he made *for*? Surely there must yet be some great purpose for him to fulfil. Yours ever most truly,

JAMES RANDALL.

A letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Gordon, written in May, shows how unselfishly he could conceal his own feelings even from one who, like Mr. Gordon, entertained a filial affection for him. The Bishop wrote saying how he regretted that Mr. Gordon's visit to Cuddesdon had not been as agreeable as usual. Mr. Gordon replied that what had grieved him during his visit was the troubled look on the Bishop's face, which he said never left it. The Bishop's letter in reply says :—

I feared I had been selfishly demonstrative, which is quite a possibility, but the real cause was a very heavy heart. The great sorrow which has overshadowed my life pressed on me, and brought it so close to me that I was greatly out of spirits. But I am very sorry to have saddened your short holiday with the outskirts of my grief. There was scarcely a moment when, if I had given way, I should not have burst into tears.

1.

Voice of the Holy Dead!
Our thirsty senses listen, till thy note,
Which sounds of earth too long have banished,
Around us float,
Stealing upon the Watcher's ear
Like music near,
In this deep hush of darkness and of fear.

2.

Feet of the Holy Dead!
Sure in night's stillness we shall hear your fall,
As those who march around with measured tread
The crumbling wall,
Which erst shut in the holy seed,
In time of need,
With the battlements of Faith and Hope and Saintly deed.

3.

Bands of the Holy Dead!
Our straining eyes would mark your shadowy forms,
Now that the summer leaves are withered,
And winter storms
Are gathering round us, glide
At eventide,
To take your friendly station at our side.

4.

Souls of the Holy Dead!
Though fancy whispers thus to musing hearts,
We would not call ye back, whence ye are fled,
To take your parts,
In the old battle-strife; or break
With our heart-ache—
The Rest which ye have won and in Christ's presence take.

LAVINGTON CHURCHYARD.

5.

Ye float above our way,
Like some bright cloud bred of calm evening's air,
And bathed in sunbeams ; in that golden ray
Your witness to our God ye bear—
Ye bid us freely trust, nor seek,
Though faint and weak,
For other help than His, whose strength is with the meek.

S. O.

CHAPTER IX.

(1856.)

CONVERSATION WITH MR. HENLEY—CONFIRMATION OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL—BISHOP BLOMFIELD'S ILLNESS—DIVORCE BILL—DIARY EXTRACTS—ORDINATION STORY—THE BATH DECLARATION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE—LETTER TO A CLERGYMAN—LETTER TO MR. BUTLER ON DR. PUSEY'S PROTEST—TOUR IN SCOTLAND—CONVERSATIONS WITH SIR JAMES GRAHAM—LORD ABERDEEN—MR. GLADSTONE—DESCRIPTIVE LETTERS TO SIR C. ANDERSON.

January 19, *Cuddesdon.*—Rode with Mary Sargent and C. Anderson to Mr. Henley's. Talk with him. He doubting whether Russia meant to make peace or put us in the wrong. No mention of Kars, probably because they did not mean to give it up and then say we agreed to your terms and yet you would not have peace. We then discussed what effect peace would have on our home politics. I said, 'turn out Lord Palmerston and bring in Lord Derby.' 'No, social questions would rise and prevent that. Reform, as to which the rump of the Peelites are pledged; they are strong, and strong enough to join the Liberals and get to the head, &c.' Rode home through rain.

The gap in the Diary entries is accounted for by the foregoing chapter. The next entry quoted refers to the Confirmation of the Princess Royal, and to the illness, which a few months later caused the retirement of Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, and in consequence of which he died the following year.

March 20.—To Windsor Castle. The Confirmation of

Princess Royal interesting—she devout, composed, earnest; youngest sister much affected—the Queen and Prince also. The Queen spoke most kindly to me after: all very kind. On to London—large Confirmation at St. James's: felt constrained, and very unlike my own. Then to London House. Met Dr. Todd, who spoke hopefully of Bishop. Saw him, very low,—very affecting state,—spoke of himself as dying. I certain to succeed him, and no one to whom he could more happily entrust his Diocese, &c. About himself, his keen sight of past sins; no hope but simply in Christ's sacrifice for him. A great struggle between conscience and faith. 'Pray for me.' A most affecting sight in one so good. How awful to all the vision of sin in the light of God's countenance.

March 23.—Very low all day, blessed Easter day as it was. But felt so bitterly my desolateness: my darling Emily gone—or all would be too gladsome for earth. My Herbert!—Robert and Henry worse than gone. Beloved Mrs. Sargent 76; Ella married. The three boys, will they be taken as they grow up? God's will be done.

Writing to Mr. Trench the Bishop says:—

'You ask with your wonted love after myself. I have returned to hard work, and, thank God, have much comfort in it. My nights are my worst time, when the full power over the will is relaxed by sleep, and when waking up from sleep, and when starting from dreams, and when lying awake and still at night. The main struggle in my own mind as to submission to God's will is as to my other children. Instead of holding them looser and more at His call, I am conscious of holding them tighter, as a man might hold on an undergarment when the rough wind has torn off the upper. Pray for me, dearest friend, that I may really submit to God's love and not to His power.'

April 13.—A good deal of talk with Lord Aberdeen. Sidney Herbert's *bon-mot*. 'Lord John drops his Resolutions as if they were his colleagues.' Lord Aberdeen expecting to see Gladstone soon at the head.

On April 21, the Bishop opposed the second reading of the Church Discipline Bill, introduced by the Lord Chancellor, which was rejected on a division by eight votes. On the 25th the Diary records: 'Preparing for the Wife's Sister debate.[1] Lord —— made a poor, long, crammed speech. I answered, and satisfied all my friends and convinced several so as to turn their votes, but did not satisfy myself.'

Certain extracts from the Diary follow here in their chronological order.

April 30.—Breakfasted with R. Liddell.[2] Then Confirmation. Some thirty Westerton blackguards, as I went in, shouting 'No popery, no milk-and-water bishops.' *N.B.* The dear Bishop of London's reproach. I spoke to them, and they abashed. A nice Confirmation. A few hooted as I walked away to Mrs. Sargent's.

May 2.—Up early, and worked again after breakfast at sermon; finished it, and disgusted with it. Wrote to various. Rode a little.

May 3.—Up before 6, and at new sermon; got on well. To breakfast at Grillion's. A large party, full of spirits; I by Thesiger and H. Drummond. Then home, and finished sermon. Then to French pictures and then to Academy, where dined, sitting between Bernstorff, Prussian Minister, and Lord Campbell. To Athenæum after dinner, and wrote till late.

May 17, *Cuddesdon.*—All day almost seeing the young men severally. Had to send away poor —— for gross ignorance of Scripture. Having said it was only that Trench and Randall[3] had examined him about names, I asked him if he remembered whether the sins of the Jews brought any signal judgments from God on them?

[1] Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

[2] The Hon. and Rev. R. Liddell, Incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.

[3] Examining chaplains.

'Before our Lord's coming.'
'Yes, as recorded in the Old Testament.'
'Oh yes, the ten tribes were destroyed.'
'Tell me the circumstances.'
'By Og, King of Basan.'
'Well, and as to the two?'
'What, do you mean? Judah?'
'Yes, Judah was one of them.'
'Oh, they remained at Jerusalem till our Lord was born.'
'Do you remember what Haggai prophesied about.'
'No.'

May 31.—About letters and people till 12.15. Then to meeting of Bishops till 4, and so off, Mrs. Sargent and —— with me for Great Western. Dear —— came with me to Langley, and I wanting to write, bored me horribly about some unhatched scheme of anti-Roman action. I, sorely tired, worn and tempted to be uncourteous, but I hope was not: he very deaf too, so that I could scarce make him hear.

June 4.—Talk with Gladstone and to National Society meeting. Thence to Zoological. Then letters; saw Mrs. Sargent, and to dine with Lord Mayor. Sat between Lady Waldegrave and Miss Eden. Perhaps being exceedingly depressed, with my beloved Herbert ever before me, and my fears for my boys, I was unwatchful and seemed too gay. Oh! what a masquerade it is, God give me grace.

Writing to a friend eight years after the Bishop mentions this feeling of sadness concealed under the outward form of gaiety, 'Often when I seem the gayest I am indeed the most utterly sad. Often it seems as if I lived from day to day doubting if I could bear the burden with all its special aggravations.'

The two next entries refer to Lord Portman's Burials Bill, which later on, in July, was referred to a Select Committee.

June 5, Morning.—Letters. Then the House. Lord Portman's attack on Bishop of Salisbury. Shaftesbury spoke

fairly and well; Bishop touchingly exceedingly; Lord Portman malignantly; I reproved him, and afterwards full of fear lest I should have given way to the temptation of speaking, forgetting Christian forbearance: miserable about it. Dined at Lord Lansdowne's: Harcourt and Lady Waldegrave, H. Vanes, Somers's, Lord Aberdeen, Colonel Gordon and wife, Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Constance. Lord Aberdeen said I had not said too much; yet if I did, God forgive me. Shaftesbury after the debate condemned Lord Portman and said he would write at once to Mayor of Blandford, to say how Bishop of Salisbury had put it and get him to yield all opposition. God grant it.

June 10.—House of Lords—Portman's spiteful attack on me, enabled not to retort in one word, though saw plenty of opportunity of making him ridiculous. Dined at Milnes' to meet Duc d'Aumale, and Lord and Lady John Russell, Harry Vanes, Lady William Russell, Argyll's.

On July 3, the Divorce Bill came on in the House of Lords, when the Bishop carried an amendment prohibiting the intermarriage of the guilty parties. The Bill, however, was not passed until the next Session. On July 15 the Diary records: 'To House and fight on Bishop of London and Durham Bill; beaten by twelve. The Bishop of Exeter spoke without his usual power, save the good hit at Lyndhurst.'[4]

June 14.—Up early, and to the funeral of the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Monk); very much affected there. It seemed a funeral for Herbert; his dear face in that last night ever before me—his voice—his cough—he cometh up and is cut down like a flower. Many tears relieved me somewhat; came home and found a delightful letter from dear ——; my heart overflowed with thankfulness to God. Rode with A. Gordon to Zoological, and walked round them. Dined at Duke of

[4] The Bill was to provide a retiring pension for the Bishops of London and Durham.

Argyll's; Lord Ellesmere, Lord Aberdeen, and Arthur Gordon the whole party. Lord Ellesmere—of Lady Morley's *bon-mots*—of Lady Jersey going out in mourning; one said, 'she looked so grand, it was like night.' 'Like *minuit passé*, my dear.' Dear, what a spirited woman.

June 15.—Up early, and at work about sermons. Preached, morning, at Curzon Chapel, on children of Israel desiring a king; afternoon at St. James's on 'the sandy foundation.' Very much tired. Great fears about the Bishopric of Gloucester. Dean Elliott pressed on Palmerston. Alas! alas! This would be an evil infliction. To dine with Lord Aberdeen; Sir H. Holland, self-invited, came and spoiled my *tête-à-tête* with Lord A. Lord Aberdeen as always, all kind to *me*, but seeming out of sorts to-night. Dear Arthur walked home with me. Lord Aberdeen, driving home last night said to him, 'I am heartily glad to be out of office, but I should like to have made the Bishop of Oxford Archbishop of York.'

June 16.—Letters, &c. Then off: dear Mrs. Sargent going with me to the station for Lavington. Met R. Randall at Godalming; a charming drive to Lavington in his carriage. Stayed there alone two hours, visited my two great graves. An unspeakable sadness oppressed me; yet an interest inconceivable in that dear place, and a love for the warbler which had built and hatched out four young ones just over my blessed wife's grave.

June 21.—To Athenæum, where saw in 'The Times,' to my unspeakable delight, Trench's nomination to the see of Gloucester announced. I humbly and heartily thank God. To Lord Ashburton's to breakfast; Senior, F. Barry, Venables. Senior had never heard of Trench!! Lord Ashburton and Venables properly glad. Went to Bishop of Salisbury afterwards to tell him—he too, delighted.

June 23.—Sad news—Trench not the bishop—utterly cast down.

August 5.—Lavington. Rode with Arthur Gordon and Roundell Palmer to Arundel Park; beautiful day. Home, and walked with Lord Aberdeen, &c. Cobden came to

dinner; much talk, evening, with him and Lord Aberdeen. Gladstone lost ground this session; thought unpractical.

August 10.—Thought over my course since my own consecration, with a view to carrying out far more perfectly, I trust, my vows at consecration; fairly attentive, and, as always, moved. Bishop of Winchester, Chichester, and myself, with Archbishop, the consecrators. Baring,[5] I thought, cold and distant to all overtures of kindness. To Westminster Abbey in the afternoon. With Sir D. Dundas, fresh from Fulham, and R. Phillimore. Dined Athenæum, and wrote to all the Bishops.

On August 18 the Archbishop made his Declaration in the case of Ditcher *v.* Denison. The Bishop considered the Declaration serious, more in the threat it conveyed than in anything else; and he grounded this opinion on the fact (1) that the Declaration was the *opinion* of individuals merely; not even a judgment; (2) that the *opinion* was not against the Real Presence, but only against one mode of explaining it. What he did consider serious was the manifestation of an intention to persecute; and he thought the time had arrived when Churchmen must most gravely consider what they ought to do. The following letters on this subject passed between Mr. Gladstone and the Bishop. Mr. Gladstone, however, had no concern with the Archdeacon's personal tenet; what he objected to was the fact of the prosecution and the apparent enforcement of the opinions on which that prosecution appeared to rest. The letters really explain themselves and cannot fail to be read with interest.

[5] Dr. Baring the new Bishop of Gloucester.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Aug. 18, 1856.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—There is little more to say about poor Denison's affair, till we see Lushington's judgment as authentically reported. But whatever comes of it, two things are pretty plain: the first that not only with executive authorities, but in the sacred halls of justice, there are now two measures, and not one in use: the straight one for those supposed to err in believing overmuch, and the other for those who believe too little. The second that this is another blow to the dogmatic principle in the Established Church: the principle on which, as a Church, it rests, and on which as an Establishment it seems less and less permitted to rest. No hasty judgment is pardonable in these matters; but for the last ten or twelve years undoubtedly the skies have been darkening for a storm, with constantly diminishing hopes of its being avoided. . . . . If the newspapers report Lushington aright, he has given Denison an immense advantage by condemning everything.[6]

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Aug. 21, 1856.

My dear Gladstone,—I think you should see the enclosed letters, in order that you may see how very high Churchmen take this matter.

The difficulty of seeing how to deal with this case does not diminish as I contemplate it more closely.

Of course our one paramount duty is the maintenance of the dogmatic truth of the Real Presence.

Now G. A. Denison, in maintaining that Real Presence, has selected a certain phraseology.

[6] Mr. Gladstone desires me to state on his behalf that while he thinks Dr. Lushington might not be free from prejudice, he looks upon him as a man of the purest honour.—Ed.

It is contended that the phraseology he has chosen is condemned by the Article and the Statute of Elizabeth, but it may be condemned by the Article and the Statute, not because it contains the truth with which Denison seeks to identify it, and for the sake of which we are contending, but for other reasons, *e.g.* the article may condemn it in order to condemn the *ex opere operato* doctrine which it imputed to Rome; the Statute through the Article, because it was the test of whether a man was a true subject to Queen Elizabeth, or a Popish adherent of Rome.

Now if these suppositions are true, a man who uses this particular language may be condemned for using it, whilst he is not condemned for the doctrine he means to teach in using it. The administrators of the law, even the Privy Council, may say, We have nothing to do with your doctrine; you may preach or teach at will that the *res Sacramenti* is given to and taken by the wicked as well as the faithful; but if, in order to teach your doctrine, you choose to use language which the Article and Statute together, albeit for a different purpose, make it unlawful to use; then you must be punished for using it. And then *we* are put in this difficulty, that if we make common cause with him and say, If you deprive him you will censure the true doctrine; it becomes *our act* which exposes the true doctrines to appear to all to be censured, when *really* the true doctrine is not touched or concerned in the matter. I do not touch on the other side, I mean on the danger to the truth from leaving him to be deprived, because that lies on the surface. I am disposed to think that we must wait for sentence of deprivation to be pronounced, and for opportunity of showing how opinion is to be persecuted by the Puritans before we can move with effect. Pray send me your better judgment on all this. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Aug. 23, 1856.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I return the letters, and having had the great advantage of free communication with Phillimore, I will state summarily to you the opinions I have formed in connection with the Denison case for the exigencies of the present moment. I adopt that form, notwithstanding its dictatorial aspect, which you will not misapprehend, on account of its practical convenience. 1. It is clear to me that the time for a Declaration has not arrived: or at least that, if there is one, it ought not to recognise or take notice of the declaration at Bath. For even if it were a sentence it is not a final one; but it is no sentence, and only the announcement of an opinion which may or may not become a sentence. 2. Deprecating in the strongest terms anything which should recognise this announcement as a judicial fact, yet, from the anticipation that it will disturb many minds, and indeed from hearing that it does, I do not see why we should not look to what is *primâ facie* the natural remedy in this provisional state of things; namely, that the stewards of doctrine should, on the general ground of controversy and disturbance, deliver from their pulpits or as they think fit, to the people the true and substantive doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. This freely done, and without any notice of the Archbishop or Dr. Lushington, I should think far better for the time than any Declaration. 3. It appears to me that the Archdeacon has had put into his hands, by the folly of his judges, such arms as he could not have hoped for, and that he may, on 21st of October, make to them an answer, showing that what they have asked him to do is impossible, absurd, and heretical; and this without ambiguities of any kind. 4. The thing which seems to me most material and most difficult is this. It is high time that there should be a careful argument upon the justice and morality of late ecclesiastical proceedings; that the Archbishop should be awakened out of his fool's paradise, and made to understand that, though reverence for his office

has up to this time, in a wonderful manner, kept people silent about his proceedings, yet the time has come when a beginning must be made towards describing them without circumlocution in their true colours; and it must likewise be shown how judicial proceedings are governed by extra-judicial considerations, and a system is growing up under which ecclesiastical judges are becoming the virtual legislators of the Church, while its legislature is silent. I should greatly fear the enunciation as an abstract proposition of Mr. Gresley's opinion, that no decree whatever, given by way of construction upon the formularies, can affect the position of those who believe in them. This seems to me untenable; but the license assumed by courts between strict interpretation against Denison and Liddell, and loose interpretation for Bishop Hampden and Gorham (irrespective of the merits of either set of decisions taken separately), amounts to the assumption of an arbitrary power and a denial of justice to those who are thought to be on the unpopular side. I think Phillimore and I are much of the same mind; and I find from him that the Bishop of Exeter dissuades any recognition of the Bath Declaration at present.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Lavington, Aug. 25, 1856.

My dear Gladstone,—I agree with every word of your letter, except the suggestion that the subject of the Eucharist *could* well be made at this moment the subject of common address by the Clergy. As to this I am strongly disposed to a contrary opinion, and I wish therefore to ask you to reconsider this point. My objections are these:—1. We could not separate such a general move from the utterance of this 'Opinion,' and thereby we should give it weight. 2. It would not be safe on either side to set the great body of the Clergy on declaring doctrinal views as to this mysterious subject, without leading them into the right channel by some declaration or further discussion. 3. And above all, if we

are to reject, through the Privy Council, this coming deprivation, we must count (in the present gross system of unfairness as to all ecclesiastical proceedings) on a large measure of support from those who will join us merely on the ground of not suffering the present liberty of the Church of England to be narrowed. Now if there had risen a great tumult of voices and conflict of opinions on the matter, many will be ready to abandon liberty to obtain peace: it would seem therefore to me that this part of the treatment of the question, as well as the rest, should wait, at least until Dr. Lushington's semi-Socinian *speculations* have been embodied in a judgment or an act.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Aug. 27, 1856.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—By common (if I used the phrase), I did not mean *combined* address by the Clergy. Any act done in obedience to exhortation from a centre would be open I should think, to the objections which apply to a declaration. I expressed what I rather feel I should endeavour to do myself were I a clergyman, and what I should be glad to hear A, B, C, and so forth acting individually, had done. This has reference to the question how in times of anxiety to calm disturbed minds; but I agree that nothing could be more mischievous as to do what would encourage the supposition that Lushington's 'Declaration,' as he calls it, is at present anything more in law than it is in logic or in justice. Men of Mr. Perry's class ought to be reassured when they are made aware of this. Archdeacon Denison has come to Hawarden to see Phillimore: he seems to know the advantages that Lushington has given him, and to mean to use them prudently. I think you may safely discourage the notion that he will at this time take any step which would additionally offend men like the Bishop of St. David's. I imagine that it is in his power even alone, but especially if

simultaneously any other Bishops not suspected of the least sympathy with Denison did the same, to do the Archbishop much good by private warning. Combined address, *i.e.* generally combined, to him, would not do well, when it is considered that he is acting judicially, though he does not seem to be in the least aware of it. No one could quite tell, from the newspaper reports, what a hash Lushington has made of it: he *has* literally and directly called on Denison to revoke his declaration against Transubstantiation. I conclude that if Bishop Thirlwall (whose letters are worthy of his great acumen and real and genuine liberality) does anything, he will do it subject to the supposition that Denison will, when the proper time comes, make the proper explanation. I hope he may: but it is clear, from Lushington's strange production that the time is not yet come. Always affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop writes to Mr. Cavendish as follows:—

Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Lavington, Aug. 29, 1856.

My dear Cavendish,—I want to hear about you. I had hoped long since that you might have found the interval of which you had some hopes, and have come over here. This Bath declaration is very offensive, but I really hope that it will be overruled for good. The Archbishop seems to me to have put himself so very effectually in the wrong, that I trust the cause of truth will ultimately be promoted amongst us by this endeavour to persecute on the side of Puritanism. I feel confident that the truth as to baptism has been wonderfully helped on by the Gorham controversy, and I trust that this will be overruled to the same issue as to the other sacrament.[7]

[7] This hope of the Bishop's was fully recognised in the subsequent case of Mr. Bennett, whose declaration of the doctrine of the Real Presence was held to be lawful both by the Court of Arches and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

I think the 'Guardian' to-day has some very good articles on the subject. Will you let me hear a little about yourself, for I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The following letter to a clergyman in the diocese of Oxford further reviews the Archbishop's Declaration. What the Bishop foresaw came to pass. On October 21 the Bath Court re-assembled, and after hearing Archdeacon Denison delivered their judgment depriving him of his vicarage and archdeaconry. But the Court of Arches[8] on appeal early in the following year reversed this judgment; and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the next year (1858) confirmed the judgment of the Court of Arches. The Archdeacon's defence was founded on a preliminary point of law as well as upon the merits. The Court of Arches and the Judicial Committee gave judgment in favour of the appellant on this preliminary point of law, expressing no opinion upon the merits; but these judgments had the effect of bringing the litigation on this matter to a close.

September 1, 1856.

My dear ——,—I cannot doubt that if the results of the unhappy Bath proceedings *were* what you fear them to be, that very many would feel that they must publicly explain their subscription. But I cannot feel them to be so at all. For, after all, what do they amount to? The Archbishop, with three packed assessors, decide that in their opinion the Articles condemn Denison's propositions. There is not a hint even in this opinion that they condemn the objective presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament; and what is the worth of the opinion, granted that it is carried out into a judgment? That judgment will be appealed against, and probably at

[8] The Court of Arches at first refused to entertain the Appeal, but was compelled to do so by a mandamus from the Court of Queen's Bench.

once set aside on legal grounds in the very next court. Then we shall stand thus: the Puritans, thinking their time come, will have made an attempt to persecute; they will have extracted from the Archbishop, a Socinian lawyer, a Neologian dean, and a Puritan professor, a declaration that they think they could safely use the Article to put down an obnoxious High Churchman. They will have failed in their attempt on legal grounds; the subject will have been well ventilated; the high tone of the Church of England doctors proved, and no one will venture in our day again to try persecution. I am very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The opinions of the Bishop and Mr. Gladstone, on the question of a Protest or Declaration against the Bath Judgment, can be gathered from the preceding letters. Dr. Pusey, however, took a different view; and in conjunction with fourteen other clergy issued a Declaration. Mr. Butler was pressed to sign, but did not; presumably in consequence of the following letter of the Bishop's. As it gives reasons additional to those already quoted, the letter is here inserted. It is as well to state that letters written by the Bishop of Exeter show that he viewed the matter in the same light as Bishop Wilberforce.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

Oct. 21, 1856.

My dear Butler,—I very strongly deprecate such a Declaration.

i. It *is* of the nature of another Article, and I greatly disapprove of individuals putting forth such.

ii. It is leaving our proper individual mode of protest in our pulpits and substituting a sham synodical act.

iii. It is furnishing to the enemy a list of men whose

opinions on this subject are *not* to weigh. We have far more strength while not numbered. 'Omne ignotum,' &c.

iv. It is altogether a wrong *time* for acting, and so, like all premature action, action now will damage us.

We are threatened with a wrong decision—we shall appeal—the whole matter may be quenched. We shall then find the truth stronger than ever for opposition. Such a protest or declaration will stand greatly in our way.

I very earnestly hope that you will agree with me and dissuade the movement. If such things are put forth, every one who for any reason does not sign is your *opponent.* Till they are so severed, every Churchman is on your side. I am yours affectionately

S. Oxon.

September 20.—Cuddesdon. Early Communion. Saw all separately. Obliged to send away poor ——, who miserable, and made me sad. On the whole, a satisfactory set. Dear Trench left us; no intimation of anything falling to him in the Church scramble.[9] Tait seems really Bishop of London. . . . . Finished Charge, and delivered it at night.

The following extracts from the Diary record conversations with Sir James Graham, Lord Aberdeen, and Mr. Gladstone. The Bishop was making a round of visits, beginning at Netherby, going thence to Haddo, then paying a visit to the Duke of Richmond at Gordon Castle, then to Keir, Sir W. Stirling Maxwell's, and then back to England, visiting Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden. The conversations are given literally as they were in the Diary, and are thus necessarily in an abbreviated form. In each instance it is the person with whom the Bishop was, who is the speaker.

September 27, *Netherby.*—After luncheon I walked with

[9] Mr. Trench was appointed Dean of Westminster on October 14.

Sir James Graham. Much talk about Denison—about men and things. 'Cardwell very tired of waiting—gave up much: the bar—great position offered by Lord Palmerston, but very tired of his position—afraid of losing his Oxford seat. A great misfortune if he parts from Gladstone and Herbert—I think a mistake for his own future. Herbert has risen—risen very much. House of Commons very aristocratic—likes a man of family—and he has come fairly down into the arena—no man more fairly—and risen much. This country wants a government: dangerous times ahead. Palmerston worse than John Russell—disapproves of separating London—should be, like the chancellorship, a great post of authority.' Sir James Graham's very high estimate of Gladstone: 'In the highest sense of the word *Liberal*—of the greatest power—very much the first man in the House of Commons: detested by the aristocracy for his succession duty—the most truly conservative measure passed in my recollection. Just reading de Tocqueville, and when I read his statement that unequal taxation was the most effective of all the causes of the Revolution, I thought at once of Gladstone and the succession duty. He must rise to the lead in such a Government as ours, even in spite of all that hatred to him. Lord Melbourne said to the Queen, "Madam, you will not like Peel, but you will like Aberdeen: he is a gentleman." He has great tenderness for the sex—a most entirely good man—very affectionate and true—yielded doubtingly to Gladstone as to the competitive admission to offices. The present mixed mode of nomination and competition most mischievous—debauching from its wide extension of apparent patronage. Far better to have either responsible nomination or absolute competition than the present mixed form. Sidney Herbert has risen more than any man this session. He attracts. He may, as Lord Pembroke, be the head of the Government, if it was for any cause judged more prudent to have the head in the House of Lords. The Duke of Newcastle counts on being—he never could be: Herbert in the House of Lords would beat him every way; he has far more power, and he is attractive. I think we did wrong in not resigning at the

breaking-out of the war. Aberdeen was all for resigning. Gladstone was disposed to join him—the rest all against it, especially the Duke of Newcastle. He was led away by the notion that he was going to be a great War Minister. He once asked me to let him have a set of papers, because they would complete what would hereafter be a matter of great interest, "the history of my war ministry." Aberdeen was right: I am wise by the wisdom of *après coup*: he saw it all along, but he yielded to his party—to the Queen—to us. I felt strongly the dishonourable unfairness of the Russians. They presumed on Aberdeen's being premier—they thought he would not go to war. I felt indignant at this. But I was wrong. Gladstone must rise: he is young, he is far the ablest man in the House of Commons, and in it, in the long run, the ablest man must lead. Many of us have been injured fatally, probably irreparably, by the war. The Government will quarrel with Naples if the Emperor does not hold them back. It is against his interest. There cannot be a revolution in Naples without its spreading to Rome and threatening the Pope's sovereign power, and the Roman interest is, in France, the Emperor's stronghold. But Palmerston is evidently determined to play that game—to send ships to Naples, nominally to protect British interests, really to stir up a revolution. This we cannot do without quarrelling with Austria, with whom we have just got over the coldness and aversion bred by Palmerston's refusing them aid in their extremity, unless they would give up Venice as well as Milan. They look forward on this point to be able to hamper Gladstone—either he must support them after his pamphlet about Naples, or he must oppose them; and then they can attack him for change of view, and damage his character; or he must approve in general and disapprove of details. He is a wonderful man. Well, we have very freely exchanged opinions.'

Referring to this visit Sir James Graham thus writes to Lord Aberdeen:—

October 3, 1856.

If I could envy you any good thing, it would be the

society of the Bishop of Oxford: he passed a couple of days here; and I enjoyed the charm of his conversation and the benefit of his preaching. He is cast into the shade for the moment: but it is a light which would illuminate even the 'Dismal Swamp.' . . .

October 11, *Haddo.*—After breakfast at nine, letters. Then a walk with Lord Aberdeen. 'Sir James Graham an affectionate man. He is doubted because he is so demonstrative. Always provokes some one when he speaks. Gladstone never does; he has more complete command of himself than Graham. Palmerston has only one object to keep in office. He is naturally liberal, and would do good if it was as likely to keep him in office: he does not object to good, but to losing office. But no prospect of turning him out. He is very much elated. Has had a great blow in Spain, but cares nothing, because he sees that he can keep in office. The Queen has not altered at all in her real feelings to him. She behaves perfectly well and truly to him. It has always been her great virtue, but she does not like him a bit better than she did, nor the Prince either. This dreadful business at Naples, how will it end? and Gladstone's letter has so committed him.'

October 14.—Up between 6 and 7; wrote, &c., and then quiet till breakfast. After breakfast walked with Arthur Gordon, and down on rocks near breakers. Then walked with Lord Aberdeen. 'The King (George IV.) was as selfish as any one could be. But all royal people are. They all believe that the world was made for them. The King could do kind things; he was always very kind to me. He said you have something vexatious to communicate by their sending you—so I had -viz. how badly Leopold had behaved in backing out of Greece. But that gave the King an opportunity of triumph, for he had always opposed Leopold's going to Greece; so he only said, "You would have him go." Lord Liverpool is greatly overrated; true, his qualities were rather moral than intellectual, yet in difficult times he kept for years a Government together, and brought the country gloriously

through a terrible war. But he was strictly fair, just, careful, painstaking and honest. It was Stanley (Derby) and Sir James Graham who in 1834 prevented Peel forming his Government. Derby said he would not join a Government with Lyndhurst in it, and objected to the Duke. Doubtful whether, if they had joined, Peel could have maintained his position. When Sir R. Peel stated in the Cabinet his Corn Law resolutions, only three agreed—Aberdeen, Graham, and S. Herbert. Gladstone had then left the Cabinet, or of course he would have agreed also. I told Clarendon, when he vehemently pressed Villiers on me for a Bishopric, that I could not conscientiously recommend him for one. He behaved well, for he said, "If it is a matter of conscience, I press it no more." I told Lord John, and he said "I think you are quite right: I never would have made him a Bishop." The Queen is very uneasy about the state of things. . . .'

October 15.—After breakfast, out along the shore with Arthur. The sea, grand, over one ledge, where we looked straight down on it, the finest I ever saw. After luncheon rode with Arthur Gordon to Haddo. Dean Wilson dined: some talk with him about the Scotch Church, &c. Lord Aberdeen said 'Lord Liverpool was the most fair man in debate—Lord Holland the unfairest: said he always puts his adversary's arguments better than he put them himself. Lord Liverpool always wanted to get rid of any persons who came to him. One of his friends once said, "I wonder what Liverpool is doing now?" "Trying," answered another, "to get rid of whoever is with him." He used to be terribly put out by Lord Bathurst—a clever man, but always joking—Lord Liverpool could not bear it, and used to fly into a furious passion with him. To-night the formation of Narvaez' Government.' I asked what does it mean? 'It means entire subserviency to the French—hostility to England and to all liberal government. It is a bitter pill for Palmerston, but he must swallow it. I suppose it will lead to a sort of tacit compromise. The Emperor to do what he likes in Spain, and to act with us as Palmerston chooses at Naples.'

The following letters to Sir Charles Anderson describe the places visited during this tour :—

Buchan Ness, October 15, 1856.

My dearest Anderson,—I came here yesterday with Arthur Gordon and Lord Aberdeen. It is a delightful place ; the house is perched on a great mass of granite, stretching out into the German Ocean, and the sea dashes up the rocks quite unstained by the lightest mixture of impurity. We have been all day wandering amongst creeks and inlets, up which the sea dashes furiously. It is delightful to walk and converse with the good old Earl. He is full of history, manners, and men. All his judgments are fair and candid, and true to the highest possible degree, but at the same time there is a slight tinge of humour in his judgment of men, and a clear discernment of character, which is delightful. Haddo is the place which he has planted and beautified. This he has built. A. Gordon delights in this. He sends you kindest regards. We go back to Haddo, to-morrow to Gordon Castle. Love to all, from your ever affectionate friend,

S. OXON.

The Gael, Oct. 20, 1856.

My dearest Anderson,—I have settled our plans, so as to remain with you over Wednesday, a stay I look forward to with no little pleasure. You do not answer me whether you could explore Southwell with me on our way to Birmingham on Thursday : will you tell me this ? I had a very pleasant visit to the Duke of Richmond at Gordon Castle. He was surrounded by children and grandchildren, living a plain, hospitable, useful patriarchal life, reading prayers himself daily in the chapel, and seeming thoroughly the old English nobleman. He was very kind to us. Since, we have been at Keir (W. Stirling's the author of the Convent Life of Charles the 5th), almost the most beautiful place I ever saw. A. Gordon joined us on Saturday, and is with us here at E. Cardwell's. Many thanks for asking your Bishop. Letters will reach me till Saturday at Morpeth, then Bishopthorpe. Your most affectionate

S. OXON.

October 18, *Gordon Castle.*—Early breakfast with Duke of Richmond and off. Many letters in train. A. Gordon joined us at Inverurie. On to Dunblane, and in a carriage with a horse what wouldn't go, to Keir. The place most beautiful, and air of boundless wealth, directed by admirable taste, everywhere. Mrs. Norton, who was at Keir, told me that she wrote to ask the Duke of Wellington to allow her to dedicate to him some verses on some military men. He sent a most kind refusal. 'My dear Mrs. Norton, &c.—Very sorry to be obliged to refuse, but had made a rule to have nothing dedicated to him, and had kept it in every instance, though he had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and *in other situations much exposed to authors.*'

November 4, *Clifton.*—Off after breakfast to Tamworth. To Chester late, and on to Hawarden. At Broughton met by W. E. Gladstone and Glynne, and walked back to Hawarden with them. Much talk with Gladstone. He *very* strong against Palmerston and on the mischief of the present Peelite position. 'It would be a great gain if I and Sidney Herbert and Graham could be taken out of the House, and let them shake up the bag and make new combinations. If Lord Derby and Lord Aberdeen understood one another all would be easy. Palmerston has never been a successful Minister: great love of power, and even stronger a principle of false shame—cares not how much dirt he eats, but it must be gilded dirt. Palmerston is strong in the House of Commons, but he does not understand the House of Commons.' Manifestly Gladstone leans to a Conservative alliance. The Conservative the best chance for the Church.

November 5.—Morning at church with W. E. Gladstone and Sir S. Glynne. Then after breakfast wrote letters. After luncheon long walk, *téte-à-téte* with Gladstone, to the new coal-mines opening on Glynne's property, along the Dee and by the Queen's Ferry home. ——'s saying about the Archbishop, 'the only difference between a quaker and him, that the quaker quaked for nothing, and he for 15,000*l.* a year.' At night Sir Baldwin Leighton, Lady, and two daughters. The eldest very pleasing and pretty: sang sweetly.

November 6.—Church, morning. Frosty. Then wrote lecture. After breakfast walked with Sir Baldwin Leighton, Gladstone, Stephen Glynne, Miss Leightons to St. John's Church. Frescoes on wall, &c. Home and letters. Much talk with Gladstone about Scotch clergy disabilities. About parties. He evidently inclines to the Conservative. Church politics. 'Men should form into knots and act together till conscience forbids.' Music sweet at night.

November 24.—With Bishop of Salisbury to Bishopstowe. The Bishop (Exeter) wonderfully hale and whipcordy.

November 25.—After and before breakfast with Bishop of Exeter about his pamphlet. I and Bishop of Salisbury equally stated our disapproval of his general praise of 13 Eliz.; he said he was committed to it. Could not change. Grew angry, 'that must be settled.' So set to alter the work in detail and a good deal improved it. Walked afternoon to see Miss Coutts, who walked with us back.

CHAPTER X.

(1857—1859.)

DEATH OF HIS BROTHER ROBERT—LITERARY FUND—MR. DICKENS AND THE BISHOP — CONVERSATION WITH SIR JAMES GRAHAM — DIVORCE BILL—PRIVATE MEETING OF THE BISHOPS—BISHOP CARRIES AMENDMENTS—DEFEATED ON THIRD READING—LETTER TO MR. GLADSTONE—RAILWAY COLLISION—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH ON CLAUSE 53—VISIT TO MANCHESTER—CONVERSATION WITH MR. COBDEN—WORK AT WANTAGE—CLERGY DISCIPLINE—LETTERS TO AND FROM MR. GLADSTONE—DISCUSSION IN PRIVATE MEETINGS OF BISHOPS—A DAY'S WORK—SUMMARY OF YEAR—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY ON CUDDESDON COLLEGE—MR. GOLIGHTLY ISSUES A CIRCULAR LETTER—MR. GOLIGHTLY'S CHARGES DISPROVED—RESIGNATION OF THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE—LETTERS TO MR. BUTLER—RESIGNATION OF THE REV. H. P. LIDDON.

On February 3 the diary records: 'Bad news of Robert by telegraph from Manning.' The next entry records his death, which took place at Albano, where he died alone and unattended.

Feb. 10.—Up early, to call dear Willy (Robert's son) and see him off on his sad journey—against my judgment; I feeling sure that Manning's dispatch meant instant death. But all the family differ, so I yield. At 12, Henry (Wilberforce) comes with the news—our beloved brother died on this day week at 6.30 P.M. I wrote back for Willy.

The two letters which follow show how strong was the Bishop's love for that brother, even to the end.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Near Lavington, Feb. 11, 1857.

My dearest Anderson,—At last we have heard—dearest Robert sank on the day after Manning sent the telegraph, *i.e.*

Tuesday the 3rd. His end was what the end of a life of such purity, humility, self-sacrifice (and through all the superstitions of his new creed), true and living personal faith in Christ would lead us to look for—it was entire peace.—Dearest Fellow! There was a childlike humility about him such as I never saw in so able a man. I am going into the country for a few days, to Lavington for Thursday and possibly Friday, and then to Cuddesdon. How curiously have all my heaviest blows fallen at this season.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Cuddesdon Palace, Feb. 15, 1857.

My dear Cavendish,—How kind of you to write to me in such words of love. Yes, indeed, it is a very heavy blow. Never can I see another so loving, so childlike and with so profound an intellect. I quite agree with you that too low an estimate of his own great powers exposed him to be overborne by others, or that he never would have left us. What a mystery it is that such as he should be suffered to fall! but now I doubt not he sees all clearly, resting near the Beloved Feet. My dear Friend! it seems to bind me closer than ever to all that have loved him as you have. I am ever, in sorrow and dejection, your very affectionate

S. OXON.

Feb. 12, *Lavington.*—Walked with Henry (Wilberforce), planted rhododendrons in Botany Bay, Araucaria on the Common. Pleasant talk of old times and of beloved Robert. This day last year starting for Torquay with our beloved Herbert. And now Robert gone. Reginald[1] in India!

Feb. 25 (*Ash Wednesday*).—To Athenæum, to finish part of sermon and write letters undisturbed. Chapel Royal, where Bishop of London preached an old sermon on affliction, twisted to make it suit, and inartistically. But the sermon of a good man without much strength. 'Life a graveyard—our feet stumbling over the graves and the spectres rising from

[1] His eldest surviving son.

beneath. With what equality the cup of grief goes round.' To Oxford and preached first Lenten sermon to a marvellous congregation for size and attention.

March 3.—Morning, letters. After breakfast to Streatley Church, where a very nice Confirmation—much interested. Then letters and on to Wallingford, where a *fair* Confirmation; very few young men. Then on to London. On Divorce Bill Bishop of Exeter spoke, I thought, with no very clear view of the subject; very strong on divorce *a mensâ et thoro*. To examine this—I spoke with recollectedness and power: convinced Lord Overstone: divided 10 to 25. Then in House of Commons. Heard Roebuck and Gladstone, who really great on China. Pam. poor.

March 11.—To Literary Fund; spoke against Dickens and Forster. Large majority.

The incident referred to in the above entry affords a remarkable illustration of the Bishop's great power of gathering arguments from an adversary's speech and turning those arguments back upon the speaker. At the annual meeting of this Society, Mr. Charles Dickens made a long and carefully prepared speech against the management. His statement was full of minute details of an alleged misapplication of the funds by assuming the existence of a House Fund, and by expending the money intended for literary men and their families on the rent of chambers and the salary of a secretary. Some members present were taken by surprise by these charges and the meeting, influenced by Mr. Dickens, was going against the Committee, when the Bishop, who was an active member of the Council, appeared, in time however, only to hear part of the charges. He got up, and taking Mr. Dickens' facts, turned them so as to show that, instead of misapplying the funds of the Society, the Committee had only done their duty; that the expenditure complained of had

been remunerative, because it had produced great returns in the shape of a still larger increase of income; that whether remunerative or not, it was clearly not a ground for a vote of censure on the Committee, because it was one which had been sanctioned by the members generally, and pursuing the argument he entirely demolished Mr. Dickens. The Bishop's views were supported by such an overwhelming majority (69 to 11) that the hostile proposals for changing the management were never again renewed.

April 5.—Up in good time. Whilst praying for a special blessing on the Diocese a sudden thought darted in of trying by personal appeal to G—— to heal the sad strife in this parish. Went up after breakfast. Met him on the road. A long struggle ending with his consenting to my bringing up P—— after Church. A very nice congregational service. The Church beautiful. Then to P——'s, where D.G. all seemed to go well; shook hands and all talked for some time. Then on to ——. The Church of which has come out well—a very thronged and interesting service. After on the tower a view of Hinde Head. I always look from these distances at Lavington as if my Emily were there and I could find her if I went.

April 16, *Llandaff.*—Up by six and at work on Sermon. Another vast gathering of clergy and others: perhaps 200 clergy and a vast Communion; the restoration work excellent; all very kind. The sermon listened to with much attention; between 500*l.* and 600*l.* collected on the spot and a new subscription got up at the dinner. Looked over the Cathedral.

April 20.—After breakfast and a little writing, in to Oxford: where Synod for election of Proctors: all, thank God, went well.

May 3.—Morning up in good time and prepared a sermon on John xvi. 16: our Lord's tarrying 40 days a lesson of *patience*: at St. Stephen's, Westminster, a great congregation. Sir J. Graham, &c. After, walked to Westminster Abbey

where Trench. I shamefully drowsy. Walked with him to Mrs. Sargent's—who well. Home and wrote on Confirmation, &c. and then to Lord Aberdeen's, where he, A. Gordon, R. Cavendish and Sir James Graham. Much political talk. Sir J. Graham furious against Bishop of Norwich's[2] resignation. 'It will destroy your incomes and your seats in Parliament. A very critical time. A golden opportunity before Palmerston if he would use it. But he will not. He really shares Mr. Canning's opinions, is conscientiously opposed to reform; he (Lord Palmerston) said, "I agreed to 1833, I am not prepared to go further. I quitted Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet because opposed to it. True, I returned but it went no further. *I* am not prepared to advise any further movement if you are, I will consider it," he said he "would either succeed or would fall maintaining a great principle and go down to posterity as a man of purpose." "But I (Sir J. Graham) do not think he will."' All the conversation strong against Palmerston. Sir James spoke really warmly when we were alone together of my sermon this morning. 'Hoped he was really the better for it, was really delighted—never more delighted,' &c.

The following letter refers to the Mission in the London Docks, then just begun by Mr. Lowder.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

May 10.

My dear Butler,—Many thanks for your deeply interesting letter. I quite long to go and cast myself into that mission. I feel confident your whole view is the right one, save only in one point. It must depend on the men in high places at any one moment whether the work prospers or not. It is, I mean, not the Church of England, but the men who are on their trial. The Church has enough life, but evils may bring the wrong man to the top; if only now we had a Bishop of London who

[2] Dr. Hinds.

would go and spend a day or two in Wapping, and gain the full trust of those zealous men, what might we not *do*? The *system* suffers. I am affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

A letter of Mr. Gordon to the Bishop in June contains an account of a speech of Mr. Gladstone, at Oxford. The extract is as follows :—

I wish you could have heard Gladstone's speech (except that had you been present it would not have been made for you to hear). It was great pleasure to listen to *him* praising *you* and saying, what is but the truth, that here you are regarded as you will be hereafter by the world at large, viz. as one of the illustrations of the English name.

On June 22 the Bishop was present at the first meeting of the Educational Conference, presided over by H.R.H. Prince Albert. The object of the Conference was to discuss the Educational question, especially in relation to the early age at which the children of the working classes leave school. The speakers at the meeting, after the President's address, were Lord Brougham, the Bishop and the Rev. Canon Mozley.

The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill, which had failed to pass into law during the past session, was again brought forward. It will be remembered that the Bishop had succeeded in introducing an amendment prohibiting the inter-marriage of the guilty parties. In March the Bishop wrote to Lord Derby asking his advice on the course he ought to pursue. Lord Derby replied, putting forth the grounds on which he himself should support the second reading, and at the same time saying that, although he could not give the advice asked for, yet should the Bishop seek to re-

introduce the clause which was inserted on his proposal last year, prohibiting the inter-marriage of the guilty parties, he, Lord Derby, should vote with him. The Bill raised a question on which the Episcopal Bench were far from unanimous.

The following is a report of a private meeting of the Bishops which was held in May :—

> Discussed sporadically the law of marriage. The Archbishop said he had no doubt that it was contrary to the law of God to allow of the re-marriage of divorced persons. It was allowable to dissolve the marriage but not to re-marry. The Bishops of London (Dr. Tait), Carlisle (Dr. Villiers) and Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth), rather in favour of the Bill. The Bishop of Winchester silent. The Bishop of Salisbury strong against the Bill. The Bishop of Carlisle saying that he retains his liberty to support.

On May 19 the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, the Bishop of London supporting it. The next day the Bishop writes in his Diary :—

> Sad, the debate of last night. The division of the Bishops, and especially the Bishop of London's tone, pained me deeply. What is to be the end of it but that of a house divided against itself.

In Committee on the Bill the Bishop again proposed the amendment already referred to as having been carried last year, and again inserted it in the Bill, the Archbishop supporting and voting for it. He also carried an amendment providing that it should be lawful to impose a fine or imprisonment upon either of the guilty parties, as though such parties had been guilty of a misdemeanor at common law. On the third reading, however, both these amendments were struck out.

An entry in the Diary on June 23 refers to this :—

To House. Divorce Bill, beat on all particulars, mainly the effect of the Bishop of Exeter's strange conduct in opposing Lords Redesdale, Nelson, &c., and so broke up our band —utterly dispirited; could not go as I had promised to the Bernstorffs' to meet Prince Frederick William.

The Bishop then drew up his reasons for dissenting from the Bill, which Protest was signed by the Duke of Leeds, the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Nelson, Lord Redesdale, and Lord Desart. As these reasons explain the Bishop's hostility to the measure, they are given.

Dissentient:—

1. Because, in opposition to the Word of God, which is embodied in the law of our Church, the Bill sanctions the remarriage of a divorced husband or wife during the lifetime of the divorced wife or husband.

2. Because, in direct contradiction to the plain teaching of our Saviour Christ, the divorced adulteress is permitted to remarry during the lifetime of her husband.

3. Because the Court of Divorce provided by the Bill will, as a general rule, be accessible only to the rich, and thus what is treated in the Bill as the right of every injured husband, is by it withheld from the poor; and such legislation will almost inevitably lead to the committing the decision of causes involving the sentence of divorce *à vinculo matrimonii* to many and inferior local courts, and so to the risk of wide-spread collusive adultery.

4. Because the permission of inter-marriage, as granted in the Bill, to the parties through whose adultery the divorce has been caused, tends to produce a dissolution of manners throughout that large class of society in which no conventional law severely punishes the divorced woman.

5. Because the whole tendency of the Bill is to dissolve the sanction and endanger the purity of God's great institution of family life throughout this land.

6. Because it will lead to the clergy of the Church of England being required to pronounce the blessing of Almighty God on unions condemned by their Church and repugnant, as many of them believe, to the direct letter of Holy Writ, and to employ at unions founded on dissolved marriages, from the Marriage Service of the Church of England, language which is in its plain sense inconsistent with the dissolubility of marriage.

S. OXON, LEEDS, W. K. SARUM,
NELSON, REDESDALE, DESART.
For 3, 4, 5, and 6, DUNGANNON.[3]

The following letter to Mr. Gladstone was written while the Bill was still in the House of Lords.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

The Athenæum, June 20, 1857.

My dear Gladstone,—I had a talk with the Duke of Newcastle last night, which I do not like not to mention to you. He said he heard you were coming up to take a lead against the Divorce Bill, and he set aside his own feelings, &c., but feared it would hurt you if you made a very great fight in that one point after such silence; he thought you ought studiously to have part in matters which would *not* bring you into direct collision with Palmerston—that this would have strengthened your position, &c. &c. &c. Feeling so strongly as I do as to the wickedness and destructiveness of the Divorce Bill, and longing, therefore, for such support as yours, I the more feel it a sacred debt to friendship to set this view before you and that all the more because I see that Lord Aberdeen thinks that anything but a carefully moderated course on this Bill on your part will come in too strong contrast with your past silence not to act unfavourably on the public mind. We are

[3] The Bishop of Exeter also drew up a protest, which he signed alone.

again postponed to Tuesday, when we shall have a heavy fight. Yours ever affectionately,

S. OXON.

Aug. 24.—Off after breakfast, dropping Basil at Brighton. Near Redhill a collision with luggage train. The suddenness of all marvellous. Thrown down and shin broke in a second. Prayer turning into praise. Many cut, &c. On to London and House. Divorce Bill. Failed in carrying anything—beat by proxies. Bishop of London's speech very mischievous. Lord Clarendon's delight with it. Home late and tired.

The House of Commons made some amendments to the Bill after Clause 53, which gave liberty to the divorced parties to marry again, and which had been amended by adding words which exempted a clergyman from the necessity of performing the marriage service over persons only free to marry by virtue of that clause; a proviso was added to the effect, that any clergyman claiming such exemption should allow the ceremony to be performed in his church by any minister of the Church of England willing to officiate. The Bishop, in moving the rejection of this, said: This clause would not meet the wishes or the feelings of the clergy, as the effect of it would be that adulterers were to be enabled to hire any clergyman of the diocese to do that for them which the incumbent of the parish refused to do. He implored their lordships to strike out the immunity to the clergy altogether and leave them to act as their consciences would make them act, rather than give effect to a measure which would only introduce confusion and mischief. He asked them to leave the marriage of divorced parties to be performed merely as a civil contract, which they had declared to be as honourable as a marriage in Church. They would observe

that the clause did not affect the Bishop. And he avowed before their lordships that if he knew of one of these hired interlopers coming in the way he was here permitted to do, to enter a church in his diocese, he would meet him at the door with an inhibition and suspend him from his office.

The clause as amended was carried by a majority of five.

In the diocese of Oxford, however, the Bishop never had to put his threat into execution. In the speech quoted he expressed the wishes and minds of his clergy.[4] Once, and once only did he inhibit a clergyman for acting in such a case. Years after, as Bishop of Winchester, a curate in that diocese performed a marriage in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, as the law allowed him. The instant the Bishop heard of it he revoked the curate's licence and inhibited him from performing Divine Service in the diocese over which he then presided.

July 12 (*Sunday*).—Up early and prepared sermon. A little useful talk with Dr. Hook in garden. Canon Clifton took me to Cathedral (Manchester), which crowded; 4,000 there and 115*l.* collected (for S. P. G.), which they thought immense. Evening service in another church at 6.30—large congregation, 2,000—very attentive. A good deal exhausted when over.

July 13.—After breakfast and church to the Exhibition till 1.30, when with Bishop of Manchester (Prince Lee) to meeting in Free Trade Hall; 6,000 there, mostly men, with a wonderful call out of Church feeling for S. P. G. Cameron spoke well and much cheered, and Dr. Hook. I too, D. G. received very kindly—much exhausted.

[4] The Chancellor of the diocese, by the Bishop's desire, refused to grant licences for the remarriage of divorced people while either former husband or wife was living.

July 25, *Lavington.*—Cobden, much talk at breakfast and last night. 'India a cause really of poverty to us: waste of life and revenue—no gain—we could undersell all in her market,' and whether ours or not, Cobden omitting all sight that she must be somebody's, and might be our deadly enemy. Then to Dangstein, the ferns, &c. very fine. Lord Aberdeen when alone at night estimating character: 'We are not worse than those before us. The Duke perfectly honest, but a good deal of thought of himself; leaving statements to explain his position far more than Peel did. Lord Liverpool most honest; not so sure of Perceval, he had been a lawyer. Pitt, a being of a superior order—perfectly patriotic.' [Lord Aberdeen] tried to defend both Pam. and Lord J. Russell from all charges of direct or intentional fraud; but not very easy. 'Palmerston has no other object but to stay in.'

August 11.—After breakfast with Bishop of London. Then with Liddell to Mrs. Sargent's and on to Bishop Blomfield's funeral. Many clergy; but he had been dead in fact so long that, except his own family, few in poignant grief. Then off with Mrs. Sargent for Brighton. She bore the journey pretty well.

The following letter to his friend Mr. Cavendish, after giving some family details, refers to the work at Wantage under the Rev. W. J. Butler.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. R. Cavendish.

Rail to Lavington, Sept. 21, 1857.

My dear Cavendish,—I must in a very few lines acknowledge your welcome letter. I was longing to hear of you and to know, which you do not tell me, that you were pretty well. I am very thankful to be able to give you a good account of Mrs. Sargent. She has been *very* ill, so ill that I believe, unless I had risked carrying her to Brighton, she would not have rallied. But she has *wonderfully* regained her strength, and though suffering much, I grieve to say, from neuralgia, is not

in a state to cause us any uneasiness. She, with my two younger boys, is now at Lavington, where I am rejoining her after some days spent for an ordination at Wantage. Anyone who desponds about the Church of England should go to Wantage and see what by God's grace has been done there; it is really amazing and we want all encouragements with Palmerston's jaunty words, and Divorce Bills, and the people loving to have it so. Our last news from my dear Reginald was sent July 13, the day after he had been engaged under Brigadier Nicholson in very hot fighting against the Sealkote mutineers. There is no letter this post, his column being on march to Delhi; but I tremble for the next account. I am delighted that you talk of coming to us. I am to be at Lavington till October 5, and *later* at Cuddesdon. Pray come! I am your most affectionate

S. OXON.

October 13, *Hawarden.*—To early church. Long talk with Gladstone after breakfast; then letters and talk with Lord Lyttelton; then a walk with Gladstone—much talk. His noble 'I greatly felt being turned out of office, I saw great things to do. I longed to do them. I am losing the best years of my life out of my natural service, yet I have never ceased to rejoice that I am not in office with Palmerston, when I have seen the tricks, the shufflings, the frauds he daily has recourse to as to his business. I rejoice not to sit on the Treasury bench with him.' His future views, dark. Much talk on Divorce question, &c.

Oct. 14.—Morning, read Gladstone a good bit of my Charge on Divorce and after breakfast went to Chester. To Manchester, two hours in the Exhibition; saw much and many. Then to Bishop of Manchester's, where Bishop Spencer of Madras, &c. A most splendid hospitality.

Oct. 15.—To Exhibition. Saw Lord Hertford's collection —very beautiful. Water-colours delightful, and Ary Scheffers and old masters. Then to Mr. Fairbairn's. His works, tubular bridge, &c.

The following letter to Sir Charles Anderson

refers to a meeting at Leeds, to which place the Bishop went after visiting Manchester.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Oct. 17, 1857.

My dearest Anderson,—All has gone excellently here. The Vicar in highest spirits—meeting excellent—Yorkshire heart, Yorkshire sense, Yorkshire humour fully comprehending all. Oh, how unlike they are to our south-country poor. Will you let me know as soon as you can about my visit. The reason I want to put off coming to you till Monday is that I may have one day at Rose Castle. I think it so important to get what hold I can on these Bishops.

The two letters which immediately follow refer to proposed legislation on the subject of Clergy Discipline. The Bishop warmly advocated omitting the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London from the Final Court of Appeal—at any rate, if not on doctrinal points, on moral cases. The opening sentences of the Bishop's letter imply that Lord Brougham agreed with the Bishop on this point. The first mention of the proposed Bill was in April 1856, at a meeting of the Bishops assembled at the Bounty Board. It came before them on a report of the Lower House of Convocation. The first difficulty arose on a question as to whether there should be two Bills or one—one to deal with questions of doctrine, the second with moral cases. It was decided that there should be only one : but in the next year this same point was reopened by the Bishop of Carlisle, who urged that difference of opinion made a doctrinal Bill very difficult and so it was better to separate them, even if they (the Bishops) introduced a separate Bill for

discipline. The Bishop, replying to this argument, said, 'It is shameful to say that we (the Bishops) cannot agree on doctrine; that our chance against the anti-dogmatic temper of the present day of ever carrying one Bill depended on union.'

In 1856 a Bill had been introduced into the House of Lords to amend the Clergy Discipline Act (3 & 4 Vict. c. 86). This Bill was opposed by the Archbishop and, with the exception of three of the Irish Bishops, by all the Bishops; Bishop Wilberforce urging as his reason that a Bill which dealt with Episcopal authority ought to have been submitted to the Bishops before being brought forward in the House. The Bill on which the above discussion took place was drawn by the Bishop. It was to the Lord Chancellor's Bill that the Bishop of Carlisle referred when he said that 'it would be better for us to introduce a Bill dealing with discipline.' At a meeting in June it was decided to defer the discussion on the Final Court of Appeal until next Session.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

From the Rail, near Banbury, Oct. 31, 1857.

My dear Gladstone,—I send you by Brougham's desire the enclosed. Assuming that this movement is in the right direction, I think that, with one exception, the draft may stand.

The one exception is the omission in it of the strongest of all reasons against having the Bishops (as now) of the Court, viz. the impossibility of blending into a real working Court such entirely heterogeneous matter as Bishops and lawyers. I am clear that this is the master defect of the present system.

But I am bound to say to you that the more I weigh the whole matter the more I am convinced that the dangers of in

any way consulting the Bishops outweigh the advantage, and that the only safe course is to put out the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, both as members of the Court and as assessors, and to force the Privy Council to examine divines, when they want guidance, and decide purely *as lawyers* on the bearing of the letter of our existing formularies. We are not in a condition to make doctrinal decisions, and least of all in this mixed way. God withholds from us the power of doing this directly by canon—the only safe way; the nation will never allow us to judge *altogether* and advise the Queen, and the mixed jurisdiction must be full of evil.

(*a*) I have the greatest fear of the Bishops of the Province on some cause where political party is involved giving some answer which might absolutely shipwreck us.

(*b*) If the Bishops of the Province did give a decided answer on the right side, and the Privy Council resolved the other way, where do we stand? It seems to me clear that we have reached a point in which we cannot safely do anything else than say, let the Privy Council advise the Queen about us as it would about a Wesleyan or a Roman trust deed. It is a matter of civil justice as to which the appeal comes, let the civil arm wholly settle it.

Will you give me your judgment on this? I am ever affect^y^ yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Nov. 2, 1857.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I sit down to answer your letter, although hurriedly, before sending on the paper to Lord Brougham. You lean, I see, to the establishment of a purely lay tribunal, and I agree in preferring a Court so constituted to the present one. But that is all. I do not think you could rely on the forbearance of such a Court in treating doctrinal questions. Deal with them and decide them it *must*. The scandal of its doing so, even when no

such case is on the carpet, is enormous. The sentences would take effect on the Church, and Bishops and Clergy generally would concur in giving them effect. It seems to me vain in logic, and even demoralising in practice, to contend that such sentences may so pass and take effect and yet not in any real sense commit the Church. It is neither disestablishment, nor even loss of dogmatic truth, which I look upon as the greatest danger before us, but it is the loss of those elementary principles of right and wrong on which Christianity itself must be built. The present position of the Church of England is gradually approximating to the Erastian theory that the business of an Establishment is to teach all sorts of doctrines and to provide Christian Ordinances by way of comfort for all sorts of people, to be used at their own option. It must become, if uncorrected, in lapse of time a thoroughly immoral position. Her case seems as if it were like that of Cranmer—to be disgraced first and then burned. Now what I feel is, that the constitution of the Church provides the means of bringing controversy to issue: not means that can be brought at all times, but means that are to be effectually, though less determinately, available for preventing the general devastation of doctrine, either by a positive heresy, or by that thesis I have named above, worse than any heresy. Considering that the condition of the Church with respect to doctrine is gradually growing into an offence to the moral sense of mankind and that the question is, shall we get if we can the means of giving expression to her mind, I confess that I cannot be repelled by fears connected with the state of the Episcopal body from saying yes. Let me have it if I can. For, regarding the Church as a privileged and endowed body, no less than as one with spiritual prerogatives, I feel these two things: If the mind of those who rule and of those who compose the Church is deliberately anti-Catholic, I have no right to seek a hiding-place within the pale of her possessions by keeping her in a condition of voicelessness, in which all are entitled to be there, because none are. That is, viewing her with respect to the enjoyment of her temporal advantages: spiritually, how can her life be saved

by stopping her from the exercise of functions essential to her condition? It may be said she is sick, wait till she is well. My answer is, she is getting more and more sick in regard to her own function of authoritatively declaring the truth; let us see whether her being called upon so to declare it, may not be the remedy, or a remedy at least. I feel certain that the want of combined and responsible ecclesiastical action is one of the main evils and that the regular duty of such action will tend to check the spirit of individualism and to restore that belief in a Church which we have almost lost. The Bishops will act much *better* from acting in the way proposed and the very law which commits it to them so to act will in itself not only do much for the ecclesiastical principles of our Constitution but still more, I believe, for the healthiness of our moral tone. I can bear the reproaches of those who say, 'You believe so and so; you have no business to believe that here; go elsewhere and believe it if you please.' I know that it would be much more just to retort them. But if I felt that I am myself trying to gag the Church of England or to keep in her mouth the gag that is now there, I should not feel so sure that honesty was not compromised in my own measure by me. It is, in a word the desire that honesty should be maintained at all costs, which governs me in the main, and would govern me even if I saw less than I seem to do of conservative and restorative action in the measure itself. I could wish to have written about our sad, sad conflagration,[5] and other things, but time forbids. In haste, ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Although the adjourned discussion brought about no results, a short account of it may prove interesting, as showing the different views taken by the Bishops on the point of omitting the Archbishops and the Bishop of London from the Court of Final Appeal. The Report is as follows :—

[5] Hawarden Church burned a few days before.

Feb. 16.—The Bishop of London read a temperate protest against the decision of the last meeting (Feb. 8), as to the Archbishops and Bishop of London being put off the Court of Appeal in moral matters. The Bishop of Winchester stated that he agreed with the Bishop of London's protest. The Bishop of Carlisle moved 'that we do not attempt to deal with matters of doctrine.' This found no supporter. The Bishop of Manchester then said, 'We must have the Queen to settle who shall be members of her Council. All-important that all should be members of the Church of England.' He objected to mixing up prelates with lawyers and most strongly condemned the judgment of the Archbishop in the Gorham case. On February 17, another meeting took place. The Bishop of St. David's spoke. He was against the prelates being on the Judicial Committee in moral cases and gave a new reason. 'The appeal would be from a Presbyter against a Bishop, and it was contrary to principle that the Bishop should be represented and the Presbyter not.' He then reviewed the Bishop of Manchester's plan. 'It *would* prevent certainly any speaking in the name of the Church but would be a step in the wrong direction. Judges giving their judgments give them simply as individual men learned in the law and in no sense in a representative way. But Bishops ought to speak the general mind of the Church. The *more* Bishops who come together the more chance of a moderate and fair judgment. The Church does *not* require Judge-made law. The best way to obtain the traditional or historical view of doctrine would be by having the meeting of a number of Bishops.' The Archbishop for himself and for the Bishop of Winchester said that he was willing to acquiesce in any of the plans which have been proposed. The Bishop then suggested that the only practical way is to agree on what the majority think best and put it into a Select Committee of the House of Lords. The Bishop of London said that he thinks 'the Queen is theologically the head of the Church. That the appeal is from the Bishop to the Archbishop and *in pari materiâ* from the Archbishop to the Queen. She sits as Head of the Church of England to decide as Head of the Church

points of doctrine. The Union of Church and State depends upon it.' The Bishop endeavoured to show that this was not the doctrine of the English Reformers; that they claimed for the Crown the supreme power over all persons and in all *causes*. The Bishop of London then raised the point whether the second Court, the one for doctrine, should be considered at all: this was put and on a division decided that it should be considered.

The subject apparently then dropped, as there is no further record of any meeting or discussion upon it, but from the above condensed report it is easy to gather that the reason a Bill for amending the Clergy Discipline Act was not brought forward was the great difference of opinion existing among the Bishops. Judging by the division lists it would appear that the Bishops of Exeter, St. David's, Oxford, Chichester and Manchester voted together, while the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Carlisle, St. Asaph, Ripon, held the opposite view.

November 12.—News that 64 officers were killed or wounded on the 14th. Many letters. Rode after 2, with Mr. Arbuthnot and Charteris to Highclere, and so ends a pleasant visit—with deep anxieties about my Reginald and many comforts. All agree that good done yesterday at Newbury. God be praised. Here three years ago in great anxiety for Herbert before Sebastopol and he is at rest and I trembling for the next. *Miserere mei.*

Nov. 14.—Tired: up earlyish. In Cathedral at 10. Just before calling the names of the clergy a note from Trench, saying he had seen one that morning from his son at the Deanery, saying that Reginald unhurt. My heart overflowed with thankfulness to God and the Eucharist was indeed a service of Thanksgiving. Two letters from him met me coming out of Cathedral and such nice ones. . . . was in the thickest fight and D. G. unhurt. Oh, how good has God been

—I do desire to praise Him in my life—a good deal exhausted by all.

The following is an extract from a letter to this son in India, describing Lavington in its autumn glory :—

'I have been worked very hard lately at a Visitation and giving a charge to my clergy, and I have come to dear Sussex for a week's rest. Lavington yesterday was lovely. The oaks, many of the beeches and the spruce all red and yellow with autumn colours. The ground bright red on the Hill side with fallen leaves and the autumn sun blazing out on them. I put fresh flowers on our graves and prayed for all of you.'

November 17.—After breakfast off for Oxford, where till 4: heard Dr. Livingstone lecture. Then to Reading, dined at Fosbery's (the Vicar of St. John's). Thence to meeting, which at first a mob, but got interested and quiet, very large attendance and considered successful. Home and bed.

The entry the next day gives an instance of the Bishop's untiring activity. He began by going round St. John's parish with the Vicar to adjust the boundaries and see where it could be divided; this was before breakfast. After which he saw a number of the clergy, whom he had not met at dinner the previous evening. Then to London, where he attended at the Zoological Council and at the Board of the University Life Assurance, of which he was a Director. Then off to Sussex, to Mr. Campion's, at Danny near Hurstpierpoint; the entry for the day closing with—'a charming party, such family love and chastened Church of England goodness.' The 'entering book,' the book in which all letters written were entered, gives a total for the day of thirty-six, which must have been for the most part written in the train.

December 31, *Lavington.*—The boys shot with Mr. Denman and I and they dined there [at Burton]. Old Father Christmas, and 'proverbs' with questioning. And so passes the old year. What mercies have I received in it? Dear Reginald preserved, Basil restored and better than he has ever been yet. Ernest, too, well. Analysing the days of this year I find that I have spent

In going about my diocese	90
At Cuddesdon	85
London (work of Session, &c.)	81
Church work out of diocese	28
Outing	21
Lavington.	60
	365

Amongst the blessings of the year God has prospered my attempt to found the Spiritual Aid Society. Oh may He accept it. He has helped me to get through my Visitation not without success, and enabled me to stand, I think, well in my diocese, of His great goodness. He has restored dearest Mrs. Sargent to us. He has, I trust, confirmed Henry Pye[6] in his allegiance to the Church of England. Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name.

In the January number of the 'Quarterly Review' for 1858 an article appeared on Church Extension, in the course of which the writer commented on Cuddesdon College, which had been founded by the Bishop and which had then been in existence for about three years and a half. Public attention was thus at once directed to this institution. Before the Bishop had time to make any reply to the somewhat severe strictures contained in the anonymous article, the Rev. C. P. Golightly, of Oriel College, Oxford, addressed a circular letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese

[6] His son-in-law.

of Oxford, recapitulating the charges made by the 'Quarterly.' It is necessary before referring to his public attack, to mention a short correspondence which took place in September of the preceding year between the Bishop and Mr. Golightly.

The letters were of the most friendly character, Mr. Golightly, in his first letter of September 18, saying that he 'knew the Bishop respected those who were conscientiously opposed to him,' and wished him, as Bishop, to know that 'the senior members of the University, the nobility and gentry of the diocese, had a feeling of mistrust and alienation towards the Bishop on account of the system pursued at the College.' The Bishop replied at length, his reply showing clearly that he was aware that the objections were not to the 'system' but to the Vice-Principal, the Rev. H. P. Liddon.[7]

The letter is as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. C. P. Golightly.

Sept. 23, 1857.

My dear Golightly,—I thank you heartily for your kind and honest note. Oh, how I value people for speaking out to me with love and plainness, instead of growling behind my back. You must let me have a full talk with you on the whole matter, for it is too long for a letter.

You are quite right in saying that I quite abhor Romish doctrine, but you are mistaken in thinking that I like Romish rites and ceremonies. Everything Romish stinks in my nostrils. I cannot allow the truth of your remark about Cuddesdon College. Men have come there with strong Roman leanings and left it cured, but I do not believe any one has there acquired any Romish tastes. There are, it is true, little things that I should wish otherwise, but men must work by instruments of the greatest possible excellence in

[7] Now Canon of St. Paul's.

fundamentals; it would, in my judgment, be clearly wrong to cast them away for non-essentials. I think my Vice-Principal eminently endued with the power of leading men to earnest devoted piety, but with such a man I do not think I ought to interfere except as to anything substantially important. I have a strong conviction that Cuddesdon College is doing God's work for men's souls mightily. I am, very truly yours,

S. OXON.

To this letter Mr. Golightly replied on September 29. He went categorically through certain acts, which, however, he himself admitted were not inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England. The Bishop explained in his reply that the acts complained of took place three years ago, that they were never repeated, and that they were in connection with the arrangements for the Anniversary Festival of the College. Mr. Golightly reiterated what he had said in his former letter as to the hatred of the nation for Romish practices, and concluded by entreating the Bishop not to give occasion to his enemies to find fault with him but to cast his abilities and his untiring zeal into what he (Mr. Golightly) deemed to be the true Church of England.

The Bishop's answer is as follows:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. C. P. Golightly.

Sept. 30, 1857.

You speak of the alienation of the mind of the nation from certain views, &c.

You do not suppose that I am so blind as not to see perfectly that I might have headed the Evangelical body and been seated by them at Lambeth. But if I believe, as in the main I do, that the aversion of the nation is to the declaration of the Spiritual presence of Christ and the Personal presence of God the Holy Ghost with that Church

and the consequent truths of God's teaching through sacraments &c., I could not honestly obtain the sympathy my soul naturally longs for, by in any measure clouding the truth.

In fine, you must remember that, let Cuddesdon College be of what shade of opinion it might as to High Church or Low Church, there are many 'Senior Members of the University' who would equally oppose it as an interference with their presumptive rights, and that if it made men more earnest for God, that opposition would only be increased.

This, my dear friend, is my hope, that when we are both gathered to our fathers, hearty Church of England men, trained there in its discipline and inflamed by its spirit, will, through God's grace, go forth to convert souls to Christ. I am ever sincerely yours,

S. Oxon.

On January 28 Mr. Golightly issued his circular letter. In it he made four separate and distinct charges against the Ritual of the College, concluding with the broad statement that the tendency of the College teaching was 'to sow broadcast the seeds of Romish perversion in the counties of Oxford, Berks and Bucks.' The above charges he afterwards alleged were not his own but those of the 'Quarterly Review;' an allegation scarcely consistent with one contained in the same document, that he made 'remonstrances in private but in vain.' In a letter to the Bishop he summarises the grounds on which he came forward, and they are given here.

What induced me to come forward upon this occasion was the full belief that you are pursuing a series of measures, in combination with other able persons, the tendency of which was to alter the existing system of the Church of England—in other words, to unprotestantise it! I regarded the establishment of Cuddesdon College as a scheme for

unprotestantising the clergy as far as the influence of such an institution could reach.

Public attention having been directed by the article in the 'Quarterly,' and by Mr. Golightly's circular letter, to Cuddesdon College, a public refutation of the charges so made became necessary. The Bishop, therefore, summoned his three Archdeacons, as commissioners, to examine into the matter. They reported at considerable length, and on February 15 the Bishop, in enclosing their report, thus writes to the Principal:[8]—

I send you herewith the return made to my commission by the three Archdeacons of the diocese. I am rejoiced to see that it negatives completely every charge brought against you by my gossiping friend, Mr. Golightly.

You and the Vice-Principal will weigh carefully the suggestions made by the Archdeacons, both as to the arrangement of the service book and as to what they consider the too great ornament displayed in the Chapel. Your object, I well know, as well as mine, is to foster no party spirit but to nourish in young men going into Orders habits of self-denial and true earnest piety on the simplest Church of England model, and you will be ready in such matters as these to pay the fullest attention to the suggestions of such men as the Archdeacons.

I do not expect you to satisfy Mr. Golightly. The habits of his mind make him quite unable to form an unbiassed judgment on any matter which appeals to his inveterate prejudices. I doubt whether any Diocesan College would satisfy him. I am sure that none could which simply embodied in its conduct the full teaching and practice of the Church of England. I am, my dear Principal, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

[8] The Rev. A. Pott, now Archdeacon of Berks.

A circular letter was also printed and sent round to the different clergy, who had had students from the College as their curates,[9] asking them to immediately answer the two following questions :—

1. Have you observed in any Curate employed by you, who had been trained at our College, any tendency to teaching or practices other than those of the Church of England?

2. If you have observed any such tendency, should you say that it had been fostered or repressed at Cuddesdon?

Answers were received from thirty-nine incumbents representing different theological opinions, who, with two exceptions, stated their unqualified satisfaction in the conduct of their curates. Two expressed a qualified satisfaction, but said that although they had found differences of view, they had no reference to either Roman teaching or Roman ritual. The report of the Archdeacons refuted the charges of the 'Quarterly' and Mr. Golightly's repetition of them; while the answers from all the incumbents who had had Cuddesdon students as curates, coupled with the *fact* that up to that time not a single student had joined the Church of Rome, completely answered Mr. Golightly's inaccurate and sweeping accusation.

On April 7 the Rural Deans of the diocese met at Cuddesdon, when, the question being raised as to whether any steps would be taken towards carrying into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners as to Cuddesdon College, the Rev. A. Pott read a statement, which was ordered by the meeting to be printed. It stated that the points on which the Commissioners had recommended a change were (1) the removing

[9] Up to Christmas 1857, forty-six such students had been ordained and gone out.

certain silk hangings from the east and side walls, which had been done, and (2) the rearranging and remodelling of the 'service book.' A Resolution was then proposed and seconded to the effect 'that the Rural Deans wish to express their thanks to the Principal for the statement which he has made in answer to the question put to him, which shows the ready compliance which has been given to the recommendation of the Commissioners, and they beg to assure him of their full confidence in his desire to conduct the College in true allegiance to the Church of England.' This, on being put to the meeting, was carried by a very large majority. Seeing, however, how the words used by the Quarterly Reviewer had been turned to bear a different meaning from that which they really expressed, the Bishop availed himself of Mr. Gladstone's assistance to procure a note in the forthcoming 'Quarterly' distinctly disavowing the interpretation which some people, notably Mr. Golightly, had placed upon those words. Mr. Gladstone's letter is, however, first given.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

11 Carlton House Terrace, April 12, 1858.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I have to-day seen the editor of the 'Quarterly Review' on the subject of Cuddesdon College and have made the best suggestion that I could under the circumstances. I told him I had no authority from you and could not undertake to represent you in the matter. I lose no time, however, in writing to you—an answer from you might or might not reach before the Review is struck off. Of course I could not ask him to wait without making you a party. —— is a man on whose fairness in a matter of honour

and character I should greatly rely; in other matters I think, from the kindness and delicacy of feeling he has always shown me when a contributor, that he would lean to the feelings of his writer—who, as I gather in this case, is (not known to me) rather a hard and stubborn one. He showed me two forms of note, each of which contained a sort of *résumé* of particulars from the Report of your Archdeacons (who, I must say, seem to me to have put their thoughts in a clumsy dress). The impression thus made is, I think, controversial; and it is like, in vulgar phrase, establishing the raw, although the editor was determined, in any case, to insert a warm acknowledgment of your episcopal character. It occurred to me that, as there was to be no dispute about matters of fact, it would be best to avoid all resumption of a detail which is invidious, and in which the more exact settlement of the account would not counterbalance the evil of reviving sore subjects. As I understand, the 'Quarterly Review' is ready to do three things: (1) To accept the report of the Archdeacons as a true account of the facts, without boasting on the strength of it. (2) To disclaim entirely the imputation of Romish tendencies; and (3) to treat details of ritual as matters which ought, within certain limits, to be open for friendly discussion and for differences of opinion, without reproach. This, if well done, I look upon as the main point and as taking out the poison. Lastly, I do not doubt that you will be spoken of in just and proper terms. On the whole I therefore trust there will be a *healing* character about it which I feared would disappear if the details were revived. The acquittal from Romish tendencies will, I expect, be fully extended to the College authorities, and the dispute reduced to one of form, not of 'Protestantism.' Believe me affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Do not write a 1001st letter to-morrow to acknowledge this, unless there is anything I can do.

The note referred to follows.

As our assertions have been supposed to imply a belief

that Roman Catholic doctrines were favoured at the College, it is necessary we should state that no such suspicion entered our minds. The questions were purely questions of ritual, upon which there is and always has been great difference of opinion within the English Church, and though we retain the same sentiments we expressed in the article, we entirely acquit the authorities of entertaining any ulterior or covert designs.

On August 25 the Principal of the College, the Rev. A. Pott, offered his resignation to the Bishop, on the ground of ill-health, as he had accepted a country living in Berkshire. This, and the subsequent resignation of the Vice-Principal, the Rev. H. P. Liddon, were received by the Golightly faction as the result of their agitation. Such, however, was not the case. It was a far graver and greater question than one of mere forms and ceremonies which lost to Cuddesdon College the services of its able Vice-Principal. The Principal, in one of his letters to the Bishop, says :—

> On the Eucharistic question I feel that, although I and Liddon have never had a word like dispute since we have been together, we are mutually conscious of a difference on this point and so are our men.

The Bishop, in a letter written about this time, says :—

> Our (that is, Liddon's and mine) theological standing-place is not identical. On the great doctrine of the Eucharist we should use somewhat different language and our ritualistic tendencies would be all coloured by this. On Confession, and its expedient limits, we should also, I think, differ. The Principal agreed entirely with me.

The Bishop, therefore, wished, in appointing a new Principal, to find a man who would represent his

standing-point, in order that the character and colour of the College might be altered to what the Bishop conceived to be the exact line of Church of England life. In this Mr. Liddon concurred.

December 2.—A very full and happy conversation with Liddon, and I think it will end in my offering the post to Burgon.[1] Liddon entirely assents.

Mr. Burgon declined the post, and the Bishop then offered it to the Rev. H. H. Swinny, a man who practically came up to the Bishop's theological standing-point but not to Mr. Liddon's. The Bishop thus describes Mr. Swinny in a letter to a friend :—

I believe him to be a thoroughly earnest, devoted Church of England Christian, sound on the Sacraments and very likely to influence young men. I do not believe that he differs doctrinally with Liddon, any more than I do myself; yet he is a man of a different stamp, different ways ; whose incidental influence would tend to prevent idiosyncrasy of manner, &c. being acquired by our men ; whilst he would thoroughly work with Liddon in stamping on their hearts a sense of God's perpetual presence and of the blessedness of working for Him.

What the Bishop meant by idiosyncrasy of manner and the 'little things'[2] which he wished changed, is characteristically set forth in a letter to a friend :—

Our men are too *peculiar*—some, at least, of our best men. I shall never consider that we have succeeded until a Cuddesdon man can be known from a non-Cuddesdon man only by his loving more, working more, and praying more. I consider it a heavy affliction that they should wear neckcloths of peculiar construction, coats of peculiar cut, whiskers of peculiar

[1] The Rev. J. W. Burgon, of St. Mary's, Oxford, now Dean of Chichester.
[2] *Sup.* p. 360.

dimensions—that they should walk with a peculiar step, carry their heads at a peculiar angle to the body, and read in a peculiar tone. I consider all this as a heavy affliction. First because it implies to me a want of vigour, virility and self-expressing vitality of the religious life in the young men. It shows that they come out too much cut out by a machine and not enough indued with living influences. Secondly, because it greatly limits their usefulness and ours by the natural prejudice which it excites. Then there are things in the actual life I wish changed. The tendency to crowd the walls with pictures of the Mater Dolorosa, &c., their chimney-pieces with crosses, their studies with saints, all offend me and all do incalculable injury to the College in the eye of chance visitors. The habit of some of our men of kneeling in a sort of rapt prayer on the steps of the communion-table, when they cannot be *alone* there ; when visitors are coming in and going out and talking around them : such prayers should be 'in the closet' with the 'door shut'—and setting apart their grave dangers, as I apprehend them to be to the young men, they really force on visitors the feeling of the strict resemblance to what they see in Belgium, &c., and never in Church of England churches.

On November 25 the Diary records :—

Letter from Swinny—willing. In extreme anxiety as to appointment. Oh God guide the right for Thy mercy's sake.

In January 1859 Mr. Liddon writes to the Bishop, saying : 'I am in a most difficult position.' This statement referred to the Bishop having said that he relied upon him as Vice-Principal not to teach those who came under his influence, any doctrine as to the effects of consecration in the Communion Office, in advance of the teaching of the Bishop and the Principal. To this the Bishop replied :—

Your last letter puts me into a difficulty. I believed that

you did already consider yourself under a restraint as to teaching in the College anything beyond what I and the Principal teach as to the Holy Eucharist. If, as I understand this letter, you consider yourself under no such restraint, I must ask you to define what you do teach as *extra usum sacramenti*. It is, of course, impossible to work the College for God's glory on a system of really discordant teaching between us.

Mr. Liddon replied in a long letter, setting forth what his belief was on this question, and referring the Bishop to a review of the Rev. J. Keble's work on Eucharistical Adoration, which Mr. Liddon had recently contributed to the 'Christian Remembrancer.' The Bishop before he replied had a conversation with Mr. Butler on this subject, specially as regarded Mr. Liddon. As is evident by the Bishop's letter given below, this conversation was not finished. Mr. Butler differed from the Bishop's view and pleaded for toleration. To use his own words, 'All I ask for in my own case, and that of others who feel with me, is perfect equality of position for our doctrinal platform.'

The rest of the letter sufficiently explains itself, as well as the subsequent one in reply to Mr. Butler.[3]

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

Cuddesdon Palace, Wheatley, Jan. 22nd, 1859.

My dear Butler,—I was about to write to you when your letter came. I had the same aching feeling left by our 'truncated conversation' and I longed for an hour, if it was only to pray and weep with you. My heart has been very heavy ever since. I daresay you can hardly believe how strong my

[3] It is as well to state here that Mr. Liddon was curate at Wantage under Mr. Butler before his appointment to Cuddesdon.

affection to you is, but so it is, and the feeling that in anything we were parted was really intolerable to me. Your letter has been an unspeakable relief to me. I meant 'tolerate' precisely in the sense you claim for it. I meant that you were to feel that *I* was as much 'tolerated' as *I* to feel that you were. I accept *in toto* your claim. It has always been my own view of the Church's intention and of my duty. I have never failed to see that *the* imputation which with my peculiar temperament pierces deepest and stings most, was inevitably fixed on me by my acting honestly on that line: being NO party man but throwing myself *entirely* into the work (*e.g.*) of you and of Fremantle, as both *true* sons of the Church of England and so exposing myself to the charge of temporizing, &c. &c. &c. But I took and take that as my bearing Christ's Cross. I see too whence *our* misunderstanding, so to speak, came. I was speaking *really* not of you in your *comparatively* independent position, but of Liddon. Now what you say of the College here reconciled our view. *You* at Wantage have as much right to teach your *shade* of the common teaching and be considered a loyal son of the Church, as I have mine here, and I with no compromise can *as Bishop* wholly support and maintain you—maintaining my own proper claims to *my own* views (SOMETHING more, to use your division, *Ecclesiastical* than yours; as much less Ecclesiastical, no *more less* Ecclesiastical than A. Leigh's).

But when I come to the College here the case is different. *I* am judged of in my secret intention for the diocese by the *exact* shade imparted here to the men sent out. If then I preach, act, write in the diocese my own exact view, more Sacerdotal than the class you allude to as Ecclesiastical but less Sacerdotal, *e.g.* as to confession, some doctrinal points, and some consequent Ritualism than the most Sacerdotal, and then if from Cuddesdon go out as the *best* men—men of the *most* Sacerdotal type, it cannot, it seems to me but happen that I am counted for a deceiver, professing one thing in my own words and conduct to the diocese and then sending out from my own training College men of a different shade as my best men. This (I speak to you in sacred con

fidence) has been strongly pressed on me by the Warden of All Souls, Sir George Prevost, &c.

Then applying all this to Liddon. I feel that it is true that *he* would make his best man one thing and *I* should make him another on this very point, and this would certainly touch practical matters. Now I do *not* think the abstract doctrinal difference between us (*e.g.* on Eucharistic adoration) THE point. It seems to me that between all who hold the objective presence, with its consequences, there can be no fundamental difference here. *I* could quarrel with no man who honestly denied Transubstantiation, as to Eucharistic adoration. It is not therefore exactly Liddon's doctrinal views taken alone, as to which I feel the importance of the difference. It is as much or more a *moral question.* I am *sure* he is *entirely* honest. In exact proportion to the fulness of my conviction that he is *honest*, and it is entire, rises the conviction that in this matter he is not, so to speak, trustworthy, *i.e.* that there is in him a strength of will—an ardour— a restlessness —a dominant imagination which makes him unable to give to the young men any tone save exactly his own tone.

Under this conviction I have, from my hearing of this diversity of ritual, been drifting with a really heart-tearing pain to the conviction that I *must* accept *his* tendered resignation to act myself with honesty to the diocese. I have said nothing of this yet to him. I purposely say it first to you, to hear what you *can* say on the other side. I know all I lose for the College, for the diocese, more than all for myself, in losing his presence here, but I begin to see it must be, and if it MUST be, I think that THIS *is* the time for it. Now no reason need be given but that after full deliberation the coming of the new Principal necessitated a new Vice-Principal, and Liddon's active work here may terminate with no jar and he come amongst us as one of us hereafter and at all times. Even as I write this I so recoil from the conclusion that I can hardly bear to send it to you, and yet it *is* my feeling and not my reason which recoils. You will read it all through and send me your views about it. It *must* stagger me when such a man as the Warden believes that all my own usefulness to

the diocese and the Church depends upon my removing this *true* ground of misunderstanding. I am ever yours affectionately

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

Lea Hall, Jan. 26, 1859.

My dear Butler,—Many thanks for your very kind letter. It confirms my growing conviction that I *must* lose Liddon. God knows what the conviction costs me. It is *not*, I think, quite as you say, acknowledging and precipitating the difference between the two schools of High Churchmen. *I*, Leighton, Burgon and numbers more belong really to the Spiritual and not to the Ecclesiastical division of the school. Doctrinally, Liddon might hold all he holds and work happily with me. It is that he is fit only to be absolute; great as is his love and tenderness and forbearance, he *must* re-impress his exact self, and even when, as with me, he has meant to take a less exclusive line, he has—as in this matter of the College Chapel celebration—not done himself justice. I *see all* the danger of our losing our ——, and yet I hope we may, under God's blessing, have their *real hearts* and the difference only be in the last *tinge*, which is really the only difference between us. The *apparent* insincerity of my sending out those *with* it, is *my* master difficulty on that side; the loss of one I *love* and *admire* as I do Liddon on the other. I always hoped that I could have influenced Liddon enough to keep down the 'tinting' process to such a pitch that I could quite honestly retain him and that a few years hence the difficulty would be mellowed out. I come to the opposite view with a torn heart. Ever, my dear Butler, your very affectionate

S. OXON.

Mr. Liddon resigned the Vice-Principalship on February 5, remaining, however, in accordance with the Bishop's desire, to the following Easter. If it

were necessary to supplement in any way the expressions of affection of the Bishop towards Mr. Liddon in the letters given above, it would be easy, as letters to friends and passages in the Diary abound with them. In fact, the Bishop deeply felt parting with one whom he had learnt to love for his own sake, and whom he appreciated more and more as he witnessed the development of those great powers which are now so universally recognised.

CHAPTER XI.

(1858.)

LORD SHAFTESBURY'S BILL FOR SPECIAL SERVICES—PRIVATE DISCUSSION OF BISHOPS—CONVOCATION BREAKFASTS—PRIVATE MEETING OF COUNCIL OF COLONIAL BISHOPS—THE BISHOP OF LONDON ON STATE-BISHOPS—SPEECH ON THE 'POLITICAL SERVICES' MOTION—SPEECH ON CHURCH RATES—TOUR IN WALES FOR S.P.G.—THE BOYNE HILL CONTROVERSY—THE BISHOP ON CONFESSION TO A PRIEST—MR. GRESLEY APPOINTED TO BOYNE HILL—'THE TIMES' ATTACKS THE BISHOP—THE COMMISSION APPOINTED—DR. HOOK WISHES TO JOIN LORD SHAFTESBURY—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP TO DR. HOOK—LETTER OF THANKS FROM WESLEYAN METHODIST—SIR JAMES GRAHAM DEFENDS THE BISHOP'S ACTION—JUDGMENT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—MEETING FOR S.P.G. AT BRADFORD—LETTER TO A FRIEND AS TO ENGLISH SERVICES ON THE CONTINENT—CONVERSATIONS WITH LORD BROUGHAM—PERSIGNY AND LORD ABERDEEN.

January 25.—Letters. Men on business. The wedding.[1] All as it should be: devotion specially in Prince Frederick William. Natural feeling. Lord Derby on Shaftesbury's bill: general agreement. Lord Aberdeen *do.* To Royal concert with Bishop of London. Talk with King of Belgians. He for High Church only, fixed and immoveable. 'I say with Athanasius, the only position for a Church is, "Believe this or you are damned."'

Feb. 3.—To London. Meeting of the Bishops at Bounty Board. Large attendance. Discussed at length Lord Shaftesbury's bill.

This entry refers to a proposed Bill of Lord Shaftesbury's for special services. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided and twenty Bishops were

[1] Marriage of Princess Royal to Prince Frederick of Prussia.

present. The Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Pepys) agreed with the principle of Lord Shaftesbury's Bill but thought it should be limited to places which had a mayor and corporation. His opinions found no favour with the meeting. The Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Prince Lee) opposed the proposed measure and suggested the advisability of the Bishops bringing in a Bill to deal with the question. The Bishop of Exeter agreed with the former speaker and urged that instead of trying to alter the Bill it would be better to move its rejection. The Bishop of Oxford then stated that he had drawn up a Bill on the subject and was called upon to read it, which he did; the draft was generally approved and after a short discussion on details was adopted. On February 9 Lord Shaftesbury stated in the House that, as he had ascertained that the twenty-four Bishops were unanimous against his Bill, he withdrew it in favour of the Bill introduced by the Archbishop, although he said he 'thought his own was the better measure.'

The Bishop of Salisbury having unavoidably been absent from the meeting, the Bishop wrote to him as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Salisbury.

Bounty Board, February 4, 1858.

My dear Brother,—I am most deeply grieved at your illness and at your absence. May God long avert from us so fearful an evil as your being taken from our counsels. Yesterday we had a long meeting and ended after a painful display of ignorance of Church principles in adopting *nem. con.* the Bill drawn at Cuddesdon. This goes to the *mere* subject of Shaftesbury's, simply occasional preachers, &c. The Archbishop has adopted it and as it *now* stands he is to

read it a first time on Friday and to move the second reading on the same night as Shaftesbury's as an alternative. Ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The following letter refers to the above meeting, which, however, was not concluded till February 5, although nothing worth recording took place on the second day.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Rail to Reading, February 6, 1858.

I have been grieved not to see your father, but I only came to town from Fulham Thursday evening and had literally not one moment either yesterday or to-day. The Bishops have been sitting in conclave for hours, which certainly consumes much time—our wild elephants seem every now and then a little tamed—and if the 'Bishop maker' were dethroned by the fall of Pam—might, I think, *become* manageable—at present it is sad work. Such ignorance of first principles!

The two next entries record those Convocation breakfasts so well remembered by many who were present at them, and which the Bishop turned to such advantage in later years. The numbers present were greatly in excess of the record given below. The Bishop used to gather the leading men of the Lower House at these parties. During breakfast general subjects were discussed while the Bishop opened and read his enormous correspondence. Breakfast over, the Bishop would bring forward the subject that was for discussion in the Lower House that day, and call upon one of those present to give his views: others followed, and the discussion ended by the Bishop sum-

ming up; by this means, questions which in the early days of Convocation might have created very serious divisions were toned down, the opposing views reconciled and men went down together to Convocation and either kept a discreet silence or voted amicably together, forgetting or laying aside for a time their private differences and striving in common for the good of the Church.

Feb. 9, *London.*—First Convocation breakfast. Lloyd, Leighton, Randall, Archdeacon Thorpe, Woodgate, Vincent, Hoare, Bishop of Capetown, Harrison. Discussed much. Then to Curates Aid. With Bishop of St. Asaph to House of Commons.

Feb. 10.—Second breakfast of Convocationists: same as yesterday, except Harold Browne added. To Convocation and after it Clergy Discipline discussion.

Feb. 12.—A good deal of talk with Butler as to Cuddesdon College: all his thoughts noble. It rears a set of men willing to 'endure hardness.' Planned sermon on David and true repentance. Then to Convocation.

April 8, *Cuddesdon.*—The Deans leaving me after breakfast.—A comfortable spirit pervading them D.G.—After they were gone I set to with C. Lloyd to letters and wrote 61. A wet day and cold. The Inspectors of schools arrived in force in the evening, a few kept away by weather: sat down about 34.

April 9.—Early Communion and after, Inspector's discussion, which interesting and useful. A little walk with Thompson [2] to College Chapel. He said he saw nothing for Archdeacons to 'fault.'

April 10.—The Inspectors off. A few plain words with —— as to the dangers of idleness, &c. Also with ——. Telling him of my dissatisfaction and complaints. I hoped he would have resigned but he clings to the office. Confirmation

[2] The Rev. Sir H. Thompson.

at Wheatley in afternoon. I exceedingly tired. Wrote a few letters and gave in. Nervousness, weariness, want of sleep. Early to bed.

April 18, *Cambridge.*—Finished sermon. Heard Harvey Goodwin. Excellent, simple, earnest, straightforward. Close examination of Scripture. Then to University. Swainson on Inspiration—confused—suggesting difficulties. Very poor attendance, say 150 undergraduates and 40 masters and 5 Heads. King's College Chapel. I preached at Great St. Mary's evening and a vast congregation.

May 8.—Bishop of Capetown came to breakfast. Talk over Natal affairs. He says much noble about Bishop [Colenso]. 'Brought up in strict Calvinism and this the reaction on God is Love.'

May 15.—Discussion at S. P. G. on Missionary Bishops. 6 and 6. A painful occasion. Bishop of Winton awed by the Church Missionary Society: Archbishop by Bishop of Winton: London, fearing for 'episcopacy without prelacy:' Carlisle and Ripon utterly disbelieving in Christ's appointment. Alas! alas! Lord forgive them.—They know not what they do; and visit it not on Thy Church in this land. Short ride—to Archbishop of York's, utterly out of heart: there a large party and princely hospitality.

The meeting to which this entry refers was a meeting of the Council of Colonial Bishops to discuss the appointment of Missionary Bishops to South Africa. The Bishop of Capetown said that there was no chance of evangelizing Africa by sending out separate priests. We had not money to pour out on clergy as they had at Sierra Leone or in New Zealand: the course he should recommend would be to 'put down a Bishop for him to collect clergy around him; then each Bishop so sent out would take the oath to the Metropolitan and the clergy to him; by this means centres would be formed, each centre under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan.' Exception having been taken to an

expression of the Bishop of Capetown's, that the districts in which these Bishops would be were districts in which there was no law, the Bishop of Oxford explained that what was meant was that there was no *state* law and no *civil* law. He then prepared the following Resolution :—

That we understand the question brought before us by the Bishop of Capetown on behalf of himself and the Bishop of Natal to be, whether we, as Bishops of the Church of England, approve of his and his suffragans (if they legally can do so) consecrating Bishops to head aggressive missions in the parts of South Africa which are exterior to the Queen's dominions. Such Missionary Bishops to take the oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury as their Metropolitical Archbishop and to be subject, with their Presbyters, to the rules and canons of the Church of England, to subscribe to Her Articles and, so far as may be, to Her formularies.

We reply that we should rejoice to see such missions headed by such Bishops, and that we conceive that they should be under the Metropolitan jurisdiction of the Bishop of Capetown and the supreme jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and be subject to any rules hereafter to be laid down for the ecclesiastical government of the Province.

On this Resolution being duly moved, the Bishop of London opposed and said :—

That neither the Bishop of Grahamstown nor Rupert's Land desired such action : he did not believe that this was the way the Gospel should be preached. Bishops in Roman Catholic countries were sent by the Pope ; in our country the Bishops should be sent by the Queen, who stood in the same place as the Pope. The State and our connection with it was our greatest blessing, and there would be great danger to the Church in thus injuring our connection with it. The

same result might be attained by dividing the existing dioceses and giving them the superintendence of these missions, and then the Queen would come in. After all, is the measure desirable? is there any accuracy of data for supposing that Bishops are of any use? Surely it is better, if you have Bishops, to have them always backed up by the State.

The Bishop of St. Davids replied by saying that the Bishop of London presupposed that neither the Bishop of Grahamstown nor Rupert's Land was favourable. Next the Bishop had argued that the proposed course was illegal. The Resolution reserved this point. He then argued against the Bishop of London's speech, differing *in toto* from him. He was followed by the Bishop of Llandaff, who said the real question was, whether missions ought not, where they can, to be under a Bishop, and said, in his opinion, they should. The Council then divided; when the Archbishop, Bishops of London, Winchester, Carlisle, Ripon and Bath and Wells voted against the Resolution; the Bishops of Oxford, St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor, Montreal and Llandaff for it.

June 17.—A talk with Lord Aberdeen. Gladstone getting more averse to Disraeli. Mansion House, S. P. G. meeting. Then to prepare for House. Spoke on Slave Trade.

On Lord Stanhope's motion for an address to the Crown for removing from the Prayer-Book what were called the 'Political Services,' the Bishop spoke, and as he introduced into his speech what in his opinion would be the effect on the minds of the clergy if the Prayer-Book were interfered with, that part of the speech is quoted.

It was of great importance, however, to distinctly under-

stand that there was in this no alteration meditated in the Book of Common Prayer. This was a great point—it was of the greatest importance that this should be understood, because the consciences of many of the clergy who had subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer as by law established would be hurt if they thought any alteration were intended; and he thought it desirable not to introduce any precedent in that direction, because if this was regarded as the instalment of any large measure, he thought it was a step that would make the motion less likely to succeed. He objected altogether to any alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Liturgy of the Church of England. He felt it was one of the most blessed birthrights that God had given to us in this land—the Book of Common Prayer, according to the Reformed Church of England; and he did not believe that the present time was in any degree favourable to its amendment, or to the admission of alteration in its pages. We inherited in the Book of Common Prayer the earliest liturgies of the Christian Church, freed from the superstitions and abuses of modern times.

The reason he supported the motion was because it would remove from the Book of Common Prayer addresses to Almighty God, the tone of which was not such as humble, pious and devout men, removed from the strife of party, would desire to see given to the nation as the vehicle of supplication or the instrument of thanksgiving.

July 1.—Off after breakfast with Anderson and Mrs. Sargent for Clewer—Mrs. Gladstone and Hubbard. A great gathering. A happy service. Offertory above 1,000*l.* Then meeting in Quadrangle—I spoke. Then talk with Mrs. Monsell and to London with Nelson, Dean of Westminster, Mrs. Sargent. House, on Jews. I spoke and *all* seemed pleased. Quite got the attention of the House. Walked with Bishop of Salisbury to R. Phillimore to meet Gladstone.

July 2.—House. On church rates till 1.15, missing dining at Lord Eversley's. Spoke, and attacked by Lord Stanley, when too late for me to answer.

In the course of the speech mentioned the Bishop said :—

Dissenters did not desire the destruction of the Established Church. They did not lead the opposition to church-rates. The parties who led the hostilities to church-rates were those who conscientiously objected to any Church Establishment at all. He desired to relieve from the rate all who conscientiously objected to paying it. One word of warning he would add, to all Protestant Dissenters from our Church, that if the Establishment were destroyed, the Protestant Dissenters would be the first to suffer : they owed the Established Church far more than the security which they enjoyed, for they were held in peace with one another under the overshadowing influence of the Established Church. And among all the Dissenters there was only one sect that would profit by the unconditional abolition of the church-rates, and that sect was the intrusive Papacy. In saying this, he begged again to say, that he would heartily rejoice in any proposition conceived in the spirit of Christian love and Christian fairness, by which this question might be amicably and for ever adjusted.

July 16.—House. Spoke on Convocation before Villiers, who made a Low Church attack which greatly needed answering : but alas ! I had spoken. Then India debate. Moved resolution for Bishops' patronage, but negatived. Home, very low.

The proposal about patronage was that the power of appointing chaplains should be exercised by the Secretary of State and the Bishop of the diocese alternately. The proposal was lost on account of Lord Derby's opposition.

July 23 (*Oxford*).—After breakfast, where many, and Chapel, to Cuddesdon. Back, and with Henry of Exeter, to London. House. Sister's marriage. I spoke ; Bishop of Sarum said, better than he ever heard me. So, too, H.E. [Bishop of

Exeter.] He flayed Ripon. Then India debate and I said what I meant.

The point in the debate on which the Bishop spoke was as to our neutrality with regard to Christianity: he said:—

As to neutrality, what was meant? If, not forcing Christianity by violence but observing our own because we believed in it and were not ashamed of it, well and good. But if neutrality meant that our rulers were to show a happy indifference as between Christianity and heathendom, such neutrality would be false to our religion. One was the line of Christian truth; the other the line of a wicked neutrality.

The following extracts taken from the Bishop's Diary record a series of meetings on behalf of the S. P. G. in Wales.

August 2.—Off after breakfast for Shrewsbury and on to Oswestry, where great meeting.—Mr. Gore in the chair. Then on to Powis Castle, where kindly received, all the clergy there. Noble situation of house.

August 3.—Up early and wrote. After breakfast rode with Lord Powis to the top of the hill, rain came on. Then to meeting at Welshpool, very well attended; back to house and walked round terraces.

August 4.—Up early; wrote. Breakfast at 8. Then in Lord Powis's carriage to Oswestry with Mr. Williams. Thence by rail to Wrexham, where large meeting. Sir Watkin presiding. I spoke with interest. Then luncheon and speeches. Wrote many letters and at last rode in pouring rain on Sir Watkin's horse to Hawarden—only themselves; a very pleasant evening; consulted with Gladstone.

August 5.—Church early. Then rode after breakfast with Sir Stephen Glynne to the meeting at Mold—a good one. Then with Mr. Roberts and L. Majendie to top of Moel

Fammau and back to dinner. The view very striking but not very clear. After dinner much talk with Gladstone.

August 6.—Rode after breakfast, and much talk with Gladstone, to Mold, Nannersh, to Denbigh, whence to meeting at St. Asaph near 30 miles. St. Asaph, whither Bishop from Oswestry to meet me. The Dean, Williams, self and H. Hoare.

August 7.—After early breakfast the Bishop took Williams and myself in his carriage to Rhyl. I preached. Then walked on the shore with Bishop and talked of his 20 years ago visit to me at Brighstone, then luncheon at Mr. Musgrave's. Then wrote letters. Then meeting, good and interested. Then by rail to Bangor, arrived just by dinner time—large party. I very much fagged.

August 8.—Up in good time—got ready sermons; preached in the morning for S. P. G., in the afternoon on Edification. After church walked on the Ridge with Hoare and Dodd; the latter said, 'The Cathedral was never seen so full.' Collected 53*l.* Excessively tired at night.

August 9.—Refreshed, thank God, and up early. Letters and walk before breakfast.

August 10.—Off directly after breakfast for Llandudno by steamer. A beautiful day but hazy. Hook joined at Beaumaris; a good deal of talk with him. Kind welcome at Llandudno from Bishop of Chester. Meeting in open air. Hook spoke well. I, passably. Then climbed Orme's Head with Hook, &c.

The following letter to Sir Charles Anderson refers to this last entry:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Palace, Bangor, Aug. 10, 1858.

My dearest Anderson,—I have given your messages to my kind host, who received them lovingly. He seems very well and to my great pleasure to-day spontaneously said to his niece, Miss Bethell, 'The Bishop of Oxford's visit has done

me a great deal of good. It has quite renewed me.' I ended my business tour with an open-air meeting at Llandudno yesterday. I went from Bangor by steam-boat to Llandudno, had quite a delightful day and the pleasure of old Hook's company. He spoke at the meeting famously and climbed the top of the Orme's Head with me afterwards. I hope that this has really been a successful tour: for which I thank God. We had some Welsh workmen yesterday at the meeting who could not understand English but who stood the whole time in fixed attention and delight at the life of the whole thing. I hope we shall see you before September ends. Yours ever affectionately with love

S. Oxon.

The work over which took the Bishop into Wales, he gave himself three days' holiday, which are thus graphically described:—

August 11.—Early breakfast and to Conway, by rail to Carnarvon, to Llanberis, rode up Snowdon with David Williams—views beautiful. Thunderstorms all day and wonderful atmospheric phenomena, rainbows, &c. At night ran down, too fast and overdid myself. Road to Capel Curig broken up, so slept at Llanberis.

August 12.—After breakfast in car to Capel Curig. Road just passable. Then to Llanwrst, wrote letters, walked to curious Welsh church, poorly. Only the curate and churchwarden dined.

August 13.—Drove after breakfast to the falls of the Conway. Greatly depressed with the contrast from 1823; when last here. Then with Mr. B—— and learned much about spiders. Luncheon and by boat to Conway, whence to Clifton,[3] affectionately welcomed at 8.40 P.M.

Although the Bishop's opinions on Confession have been fully stated in the correspondence with Dr. Pusey in 1850, it is necessary to recur to the matter

[3] Visiting his daughter, Mrs. Pye.

again with reference to what at the time was known as the 'Boyne Hill' case. Boyne Hill was a district formed out of the parishes of Maidenhead and Bray. The Church was built and partly endowed by a lady, Miss Hulme, on condition that she should have the first nomination and that afterwards the patronage should be in the hands of the Bishop of the diocese. Miss Hulme nominated the Rev. W. Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield, then working at St. Paul's, Brighton. Mr. Gresley's reputation as an author had been long known; but it is only necessary here to allude to one of his works. In 1854 he published a book called 'The Ordinance of Confession,' for the publication of which he was threatened with an Inhibition by the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Gilbert). Mr. Gresley wrote to Bishop Wilberforce asking him for his help in the matter and saying that he was ready to withdraw any passages or statements in the book which were overstated or liable to be misunderstood.

The Bishop's reply to this request is as follows:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. Gresley.

March 28, 1854.

My dear Mr. Gresley,—I should grieve to see the question of Confession brought into our courts, (1) because of their constitution and the way in which 'public opinion' bears on them; (2) because the question itself is so much one of degree. But I have a very strong opinion of the evil of habitual confession to all, specially to the sentimental young ladies who principally practise it, and as administered by Dr. Pusey I consider it an evil, the melancholy consequences of which it is difficult to exaggerate. My opinion is fully stated concerning it in my last Charge. Now, of course I could not do

anything at variance with these views, and I will frankly say to you that when I read your book there appeared to me passages in it which could not be reconciled with them. I have not the book with me now and I do not remember them. But short of this I would do anything I could. I should advise you to write to the Bishop to request him to point out what he does condemn, that you may reconsider or explain the passages in question and to assure him that you will earnestly desire in his Diocese not to act contrary to his decision in such a matter. If you liked to write to me such a letter I would gladly be the vehicle of conveying it to my kind and very considerate friend and elder brother, the Bishop of Chichester.—I am, most truly yours,

S. Oxon.

Mr. Gresley's views, therefore, on this subject were well known to the Bishop. They were also known to Miss Hulme, the lady who wished to nominate him for the new district, and with both they formed a difficulty. At the united request of Mr. Gresley and Miss Hulme, the Rev. James Skinner, of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, attempted a solution. He drew up a paper on 'Confession to a Priest,' which, while representing Mr. Gresley's views, would, he hoped, be considered satisfactory by the Bishop and Miss Hulme. Mr. Skinner had recommended Mr. Gresley to Miss Hulme as the best man she could appoint. The paper follows : it is printed as it was originally drawn up : the words within brackets, printed in italics, or with a line passed through them, show the changes made in the paper by the Bishop, whether by way of erasure, alteration or addition. It is highly important as illustrating the very outside limit to which the Bishop would go on this question.

'The Ordinance of Confession—followed by Absolution—is a provision (within the power of the keys), for any unquiet conscience, longing for peace and

reconciliation with God. [*and unable to attain to these by the general ministrations of the Church.*]

'It is a medicinal application for a sick soul. [*needing special remedies.*]

['*Such*] Sickness is not the normal or habitual condition of souls, in any Christian Church; and therefore, the provision of Confession and Absolution is not habitually to be exercised upon Christian people. [*and if so used tends to weaken the power of their conscience.*]

'But all souls, which are troubled, after self-examination had and which cannot appropriate to themselves the ordinary means of grace, ~~and pursue their way heavenward,~~ [*such, e.g., to use the language of the English Prayer-Book, as the Holy Communion,*] without scruple and doubtfulness, ~~are fit and proper subjects for~~, [*may lawfully apply for and in the discretion of their pastor be admitted to*] Confession and Absolution.

'The number of such souls will greatly depend upon a variety of external circumstances in any single Priest's sphere of duty, as early education, the example of others, the temptations of life, &c &c., so that it will be impossible to say that the mere fact of receiving a great number of penitents is any evidence of the ordinance being ministered unduly.

'In a country like ours, with its peculiar state of society, where custom is very corrupt and the state of the Church is one in which Discipline has long been neglected,—it cannot fail but that, among earnest persons, there will be a great number of persons desiring Confession and Absolution.

'No persons who feel their need of it are to be forbidden it. [*though it will be often the true wisdom of the Pastor to dissuade from it and restrain its use.*]

'No persons, who feel that they ~~are not acceptable~~

~~Communicants,~~ [*dare not communicate or cannot do so with quiet minds*] because of some sin or sins, are to be forbidden it.

'It is a provision for Christ's people under some burden of sin. [*which the general provisions of His Church do not lighten.*] Christ's people may claim their provision and, [*where it is really needful for quieting an uneasy conscience,*] the Ministers of Christ's Church have no right to withhold it. ~~They cannot withhold it without sin.~~

[*'But the object of the Priest in receiving them to it ought to be, not to lead them to practise it habitually, which greatly endangers their own conscience, but so to strengthen them that they may live peacefully and watchfully with general Confession and Absolution.*]

'When persons apply to be received to Confession and Absolution, it is in the Priest's office to deal with each case according to his own discretion. [*only he should act on the general principle laid down above as that of the Primitive and Anglican Church and differencing them from the Priestcraft of Mediæval and Modern Rome.*']

In a letter to Mr. Skinner Mr. Gresley said of this paper, that, according to his view, the only difference which existed between the Bishop and himself was that 'I have come to think more of the benefit arising from Confession, and he, from his responsible position, has had his mind more directed to its popular abuse.' This settled the question as to Mr. Gresley's appointment, and a very considerable sum was given in addition to what had been originally proposed towards the building and endowment fund. Miss Hulme had wished to build the Church for the poor. To show how desirous the Bishop was that the poor should always have

ample accommodation, he thus writes to Miss Hulme, 'Your care must be in seeing that if your population increases you have a rich man's aisle added to your poor man's Church, and I should wish you to build so as to provide for this possible contingency.' The Bishop pointed out that the same reason which induced Miss Hulme to select the site as suitable for a residence for her sister, would in time operate so as to bring a villa population round the church.

In the year 1858 Mr. Gresley began his ministrations at Boyne Hill, in which he was assisted by the Rev. R. Temple West as curate. In July the Rev. John Shaw, of Stoke, near Slough, having his mind stirred by stories which had been repeated to him of Mr. West's conduct, got up in the neighbourhood a long requisition to the Bishop. Mr. Shaw had not inquired from Mr. Gresley whether or not there was any truth in these stories: he took them for granted and forwarded his complaint. On August 18 the correspondence between the Bishop and Mr. Shaw was published in 'The Times,' of which newspaper it occupied three columns. The Bishop, on first hearing of the complaint against Mr. West, at once communicated with Mr. Gresley, from whom the Bishop received such an account that he defended Mr. West, and so drew down upon himself the whole wrath of the attacking party. The charges brought against Mr. West were five in number:

1. That he had put to a woman about to be confined most improper questions, especially with regard to the seventh commandment.

2. That he told her that if she expected to be delivered and live she must make confession to him.

3. That he further told her that if she died uncon-

firmed she could not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

4. That he urged her not to tell her husband.

5. That in consequence of his treatment of her the woman became seriously ill.

Mr. Gresley assured the Bishop that as regarded 2, 3, 4 and 5 there was no foundation in fact, and further, that as regarded 5 the woman expressed special gratitude to Mr. Gresley for Mr. West's treatment of her case. As to the first charge, Mr. West, finding the woman dangerously ill, proceeded, under the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, to examine whether she repented truly of her sins and required her to examine herself and estate towards God and man. In the same number as the one which contained this correspondence the first leading article began with 'What is Auricular Confession?' The article then set forth the facts as gathered from the correspondence, placing them under two heads, one containing the admitted facts, the other the contradictory statements, saying as to the latter 'that as far as the two statements clash we believe the woman and disbelieve the curate.' The gist of the article, however, was directed against the Bishop for standing up for Mr. West, and thus 'The Times' headed the attack made upon the Bishop on the statement of a woman of a notoriously bad life and disbelieved the evidence of two clergymen of the Church of England. Previous to this the Bishop had promised to issue a Commission under the Clergy Discipline Act to inquire whether there was any *primâ facie* ground for proceeding against Mr. West.[4]

[4] In order to complete the history of this case, it must be stated that after the article in *The Times*, Mr. Gresley wrote a letter to that paper which appeared to

In this matter the Bishop had the entire sympathy of Mr. Gladstone, with whom he had fully discussed the whole matter during the visit to Wales already recorded. Mr. Gladstone felt keenly the great difficulty any Bishop must have in maintaining his dignity after the conduct of some of his brethren ; he also condemned the way the newspapers, especially 'The Times,' attacked the Bishop ; he thought in this case the attacking party had the law against them and he felt sure that they would not attempt to change it; he said in a letter to the Bishop, 'The storm must blow over. You have been called into the front and will add yet one more to the long list of your services to the Church.'

The Commissioners named by the Bishop were Dr. Phillimore, Chancellor of the Diocese ; the Venerable Archdeacon Randall, Archdeacon of Berkshire ; the Rev. J. E. Austen Leigh, the Rural Dean ; Mr. J. Hibbert, a gentleman who had retired from the Bar and was a magistrate in the district, and Mr. C. Sawyer, a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood. The storm against the Bishop which had been raised by the leading article in 'The Times' found expression in letters published in that and other journals, and also in private letters. A few of these semi-public charges are given, *e.g.* the Bishop was accused of having given 2,000*l.* towards the building and endowment of the church, which sum had been placed in his hands by some pious person for church building purposes. Another charge was that Mr. West was well known as an ultra-Tractarian, and had been inhibited in another diocese for holding such views; the fact being that Mr. West, while curate at Hemel Hempsted, had

justify habitual confession, in consequence of which the prejudice against the Bishop was greatly increased.

refused to read a prayer in church because the form of prayer came from the Privy Council Office, and not from his Bishop. One correspondent in 'The Times' said 'that many would hail with delight the secession to Rome of the Bishop of Oxford and the whole of the party siding with him in the Church sooner than submit to such an encroachment on the purity of their wives and daughters.' Of the private letters one will suffice to show how strong the feeling was against the Bishop, even on the part of those who would naturally be expected to sympathise with him. Dr. Hook wrote on August 23, expressing his desire to be present at the inquiry, and to give evidence against Mr. West. A few passages from his letter are necessary, in order to explain the Bishop's answer. Dr. Hook then said, 'I have had the misfortune of being regarded as a High Churchman;' also he 'thought that the time had come, or was near at hand, when all sound Churchmen must go over to Lord Shaftesbury and his associates, in order to make common cause against these traitors;' he said, 'It will be a bitter pill for me to swallow, but I am prepared to swallow it.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. F. Hook.

Aug. 26, 1858.

My dear Friend,—I can enter into all your feelings. I have the utmost need to preach patience to myself under the strong provocation of such folly. But, I implore you, let me preach it to you also. It is a case to which 'Lest ye root up also the wheat with them' most eminently applies. Our struggle with such men as Lord Shaftesbury is for our *existence* as a *Church*, their denial is the denial of the fundamental principle of the Church Catholic. They believe only in

separate spiritual influences on single souls and upset altogether the groundwork of the unity of the Church and of Christ's indwelling by the Spirit in her, on which rest the Sacraments of Christ's grace, the Communion of Saints, the Spiritual Kingdom and the everlasting reign.

You and I cannot honestly take part with these men, even to get rid of the nauseous Romanizing peculiarities of these mowing apes. Moreover, if we put truth aside, such a course would tell, not only on the Romish faction but also on many sound at heart, who are led far away by their dissimulation; and 'unless these abide in the ship we cannot be saved.' No, my dear Friend, we must not give up the doctrine of the power of the keys because ridiculous men make themselves ridiculous or provoking with them. *I* have offered a commission of inquiry into West's case and we must deal with these matters at present *severally*. Above all we must do justice in them, for every act of injustice to them strengthens them unspeakably. Promise me that you will do nothing without communicating with me again. Let Mrs. Hook read this letter and give me your joint answer.— I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Dr. Hook in reply gave the required assurance, but it was not for some weeks that his fears were allayed. On September 14 he writes: 'I have no desire to side with a party which persecuted me through life, but I will side with any party rather than have the Church of England Romanized.' On October 8, a fortnight after the judgment of the Commissioners, he writes again to the Bishop, saying, 'Permit me once more to tender my allegiance to you as my leader.'

A remarkable contrast to the foregoing is supplied by a letter written on August 19 from a chemist in Manchester, who describes himself as a Wesleyan Methodist: he says: 'I cannot refrain from expressing

the pleasure with which I have read a letter addressed by your Lordship to the Rev. Mr. Shaw concerning confession of sin. I do pray that the clear views entertained by your Lordship on these points will more extensively prevail amongst the clergy and laity of the Established Church.' Before proceeding to the trial itself the following beautiful letter of the Bishop to his son, who was at that time serving in India, is given as showing how deeply the Bishop felt the unjust accusations which were showered upon him on all sides because he stood up for one of his clergy against whom he had ascertained that false charges had been made.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Sept. 1, 1858.

My dearest Reginald,— —— has told you all the gossip and small talk of the day, so I must not repeat it. The main thing which is occupying me just now is a storm of abuse and insult and contumely which is being heaped upon me about private confession. A charge has been brought against a curate in my diocese of putting improper questions. I inquired into it and found that the woman was one of bad character and the charge *really* untrue. But I offered the accusers a commission of inquiry. Meanwhile 'The Times' took it up as if I had stifled all inquiry and represented me as shuffling because I maintained the true Church of England doctrine against the popular cry. Upon this 'Punch,' and all the infidel and Low Church papers have set on me with full venom. But I keep my heart, thank God, steady by appealing to Him who said 'Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil of you falsely for my name sake.' For it is because, God helping me, I will stick to His Truth as the Church of England has received it, that all this is come upon me. And in His good time, in this world or in the world to

come, He can and will make my just dealing as clear as the noonday. It is very painful to one of my natural temper, who longs for sympathy, to be so abused and suspected; but God can out of the pain bring good. God ever bless you, my dearest son. I am constantly thinking of you and praying for you, and I tell you all this because I wish you to understand the truth when you see the abuse of me when it gets out to India. But if they have called the Master of the House Beelzebub, it is no great wonder if they abuse as they do His followers. Another week and I shall be 53 years old: quite an old fellow but with a warm loving heart, to which I wish, my dear one, that I could clasp you. I am your loving Father,

S. OXON.

Writing to Mr. Gordon on September 3, the Bishop says: 'You will have seen "The Times'" abuse which trying to be just about West has brought on me, and you, who will have done what few will, read the correspondence, will have seen how utterly they falsified everything I said.' A few days after this Mr. Gordon, after describing the party, &c. at Haddo and expressing a hope that the Bishop would soon come and pay Lord Aberdeen a visit, says, 'I will not dwell on your present annoyances, but you will be glad to hear that Sir James Graham quite appreciates the justice of your conduct in the Boyne Hill case, and defends your cause in all quarters. I had hardly expected this, and am pleased in proportion.' He also alluded to M. Guizot's visit, and says, 'Guizot *père* spoke with great admiration of your preaching, which he said was the only good preaching he had heard in England.'

The following letter to Mr. Gresley is inserted to show how determined the Bishop was that nothing should be kept back in this case. The 'Requisition' mentioned

in the letter was the Requisition drawn up by Mr. Shaw, which, after stating the charges, inveighed against Romish practices; it is too long for insertion. Mr. Gresley feared that this would raise the question as to whether Mr. West's conduct would not come under the head of non-Anglican doctrine; he therefore begged the Bishop not to sign this part of the requisition but only to let the charges themselves go before the Commissioners.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. Gresley.

My dear Mr. Gresley,—The 'Requisition' is what I have sent as the legal notice to Mr. West of the charges against him, and I have mentioned to one or two of the Commissioners whom I have requested to serve that I have taken this course. I do not think that any other course was open to me than this. It would have given rise to the worst suspicions if I had chosen a part only of the inculpatory Requisition, and confined the enquiries of the Commissioners to that. I am very truly yours,

S. Oxon.

Sep. 25.—Received report of Boyne Hill Commission, which very favourable, described in excellent letter of Archdeacon Randall's.

The letter referred to from Archdeacon Randall, one of the Commissioners, himself a barrister before he took Holy Orders, is remarkable as proving that the Bishop's first estimate of the case was correct, as the Commissioners showed by their decision that they considered the woman's evidence utterly untrustworthy.

Archdeacon Randall to the Bishop of Oxford.

Sept. 25, 1858.

My dear Lord,—The Boyne Hill case has concluded in the best possible way. The judgment was delivered by the Chancellor after reading in Court the 4th Sec. of 3 & 4 Vict. c. 86, as follows. The Commissioners having given their best attention to the evidence produced before them, are unanimously of opinion that the charge against Mr. West of 'having in the performance of his ministerial duty on the occasion of visiting a certain sick woman named Nanny Arnold put improper questions to her with the view of leading her to make confession to him,' has not been sustained by the evidence. This charge rests upon the sole testimony of Nanny Arnold, a woman of admitted bad character, unsupported by any other witness and contradicted in some material particulars by witnesses whose character has not been impugned.

The Commissioners have arrived at their decision without taking into consideration the evidence of the accused party, Mr. West, though they felt themselves bound by the best interpretation they could put upon the Stat. 14 & 15 Vict. c. 99 to permit that gentleman when tendered as a witness to be examined. The Commissioners, therefore, do now, in conformity with the provisions of the statute under which they are acting, openly and publicly declare that there is not sufficient *primâ facie* ground for instituting further proceedings against Mr. West.

The Commissioners met at Mr. Austen Leigh's on Thursday at 4 o'clock to consult as to the course of proceedings. The next morning we met at Maidenhead at 10 o'clock and sat out the case without an adjournment. The case closed at 9. The Commissioners retired to consider their judgment. Their consultation lasted about 20 minutes and the delivery of the judgment and concluding forms about 10 more, and then Phillimore and I walked back to A. Leigh's to dine, if dinner that is to be called which is eaten at past 10 o'clock,

and sleep. So we had a smart day's work of it and yet the proceedings were so interesting that I did not, nor I believe did either of the others, feel at all wearied. Cripps, as counsel for the promoter, opened the case very temperately and judiciously, stating that, according to the terms of the Commission any inquiry into the law of the Church of England as to confession could only be incidental. This was a great relief, as it had been supposed possible that attempts might be made to enter largely into that general question, but there was no such attempt. The course of the trial was pretty much what we had anticipated, that the case of the promoters failed for want of evidence, of which in fact they had none, except that of the infamous woman who confessed to having lived after her marriage with another man than her husband, was proved to be of drunken habits and bad language and whom several witnesses said they would not believe upon her oath. Coleridge, for the accused, made an eloquent speech, powerfully worded and admirably delivered, going a little out of bounds in animadverting upon the articles in 'The Times,' which could not be brought under the cognizance of the Court but excusing his reference to them by showing that Shaw had adopted them by thanking the editor for them. As for the unfortunate Rev. John Shaw, he was flayed to the quick, if he hath any quick, and will not, I think, be encouraged to come forward again as the accuser of his brethren, without a little more previous investigation of the case than he used here. Coleridge's witnesses were merely to discredit Mrs. Arnold; he called West and after consultation we received him as stated in the judgment. The only advantage gained by this was that it gave West an opportunity of explaining his dismissal from Hemel Hempstead and of declaring his own view as to whether Confession is a proper practice in the Church of England. He said, 'not unless the person had a weight on his mind of which he could not relieve himself.' This was brought out not by Coleridge, but by Cripps in cross-examination. So much the better for West. The hall was very full and the interest very great, but the people behaved very well. There was now and then an out-

break of applause but it was easily checked; the popular feeling was by no means all on one side; the Boyne Hill party mustered strong and the judgment was received with a hearty cheer, more powerful, I think, than the adverse hisses. A good many clergy were present as well as gentry. Yours ever affectionately,

JAMES RANDALL.

The following letter was written to the Commissioners acknowledging the receipt of the report—it is inserted here because it re-iterates the Bishop's views on Confession in the Church of England and shows that those views were identical with the opinions expressed in 1850.

Bishop of Oxford to the Commissioners of the Boyne Hill Inquiry.

Lavington, Sept. 30, 1858.

Gentlemen,—I have received the report of your Commissioner of Inquiry into the charges brought against Mr. West and heartily accept as my own the decision at which, after a full examination of the matter, you have arrived.

In thus formally adopting your decision, I wish, for the sake of my diocese at large, to add a few words on the general subject of Confession.

As I have already stated in writing to Mr. Shaw, I hold it to be a part of the wisdom and tenderness of the Church of England that she provides for any parishioners who in sickness shall 'feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter,' being 'moved to make special confession of his sins,' and that she also provides for those who before Holy Communion 'cannot quiet their own consciences' being invited to 'open their grief to the Minister of God's Word.'

In making this special and limited provision for troubled souls, I hold that the Church of England discountenances any attempt on the part of her clergy to introduce a system of habitual confession, or, in order to carry out such a system,

to require men and women to submit themselves to the questioning and examination of the priest. Such a system of inquiry into the secrets of hearts must in my judgment lead to innumerable evils. God forbid that our clergy should administer or that our wives and daughters should be subjected to it. I am sure that any attempt to introduce it would throw grievous difficulties in the way of that free ministerial intercourse with our people, which for their sakes and for the efficiency of our ministry it is all-important to maintain open and unsuspected. I am, &c.

S. OXON.

Of the following letters to Mr. Butler, the first refers to the attacks made upon the Bishop by the press, the second to an address of confidence from the clergy and laity of the Rural Deanery in which Mr. Butler resided.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. J. Butler.

Lavington House, Sept. 10th, 1858.

My dear Butler,—Many thanks for your very interesting letter. I did not find it half long enough instead of finding it too long for my inclinations. I most heartily welcome you back again to the diocese. It has been indeed a time of revilings and I have thought with some comfort that 'others had trial of *cruel mockings* and scourgings' and thanked God it has not yet come to 'bonds and imprisonments.'

My love to you all and my blessing on your re-commencing work and on your wife and children and yourself.

I am ever most affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Netherby, Oct. 13th, 1858.

My dear Butler,—. . . I cannot but believe that if in answer to attacks like Wilson's (Thoughts, &c.) and the charges of dishonesty, GOD put it into the hearts of my

clergy and such laity as your brother-in-law, —— Atkins, P. Wroughton and others, to *address* me, with such an address of confidence as my conscience tells me my life amongst you for 13 years deserves, the reproach might be rolled back.

I have no doubt that the silence of the diocese is contempt of these assassins, but contempt does not *turn* away the dagger's point.

I should be most sorry to see such an assault as you speak of unavoidable. Its time may come but it should as long as possible be adjourned.

Haddo, Aberdeen, is to be my address till Tuesday. I have been suffering from neuralgia in the face but am better.

Your ever affectionate,

S. OXON.

Oct. 22.—After a good night much refreshed. Rode with Bishop of Durham 8 or 9 miles round his grounds: charming—and how he enjoys the change to comparative rest and peace. Off at 1.15 after a good deal of talk with him—by rail with many changes to Lowmoor, where Archdeacon Bickersteth and H. Wickham. Placards about the town against me and Confession and the Society. H. Wickham in chair. The meeting enormous and quite successful. God be praised.

The following is a more detailed account of the meeting referred to.

A month after the Commissioners' judgment in the Boyne Hill case the Bishop went to Bradford to speak at a meeting on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Vicar of Leeds (Dr. Hook) was also announced as one of the speakers. On October 19 Dr. Hook wrote to the Bishop saying, 'Placards are posted at Bradford calling upon the people to attend the meeting by thousands and put down the Bishop of Oxford and the Vicar of Leeds and Confession;' he also said, 'We shall have no support in Bradford, where

Church feeling is defunct.' The meeting created great interest and the town was much excited in consequence of an impression that the Bishop of Oxford's appearance would give rise to a disturbance. This impression was due to placards which had been issued in the early part of the week and in which the Right Rev. Prelate was accused, not in any smooth or polished diction, of Tractarian tendencies, and his sincerity in reference to the Boyne Hill inquiry was called in question. One of the placards was: 'Men and women of Bradford! come in your thousands to St. George's Hall and in a voice of thunder resist the Tractarian Confessionals.' [5]

Long before the time fixed for the meeting the hall was crowded to overflowing, at least 4,000 persons were present and hundreds were turned away from the doors unable to gain admission. The Bishop, who, on rising to speak, was greeted with hisses and cheers, succeeded in gaining silence by an appeal to the meeting as brother Yorkshiremen. Having got a hearing, he kept it by the charm of his voice, and for some time spoke amid hushed attention; then he made his great appeal, an appeal that was responded to by a thunder of cheers and turned the angry crowd into an orderly and enthusiastic meeting. He said, 'But, sir, I say further, that that which is the Englishman's birthright and boon, that which you Yorkshiremen, or rather the fathers of you Yorkshiremen, helped my glorious father to earn—I say that that gift of liberty is bound up in the charter of God's everlasting gospel.' When the Bishop sat down the hisses which had greeted him on rising were replaced by general cheering.[6]

[5] From *The Times*, October 25, 1858.

[6] It was on this occasion that the address by the 'Bradford Working Men' was presented to the Bishop, as recorded in vol. i. p. 391.

'The Times' leading article of the next day paid the Bishop the following tribute in its opening sentences: 'There is no human quality that English people honour more than pluck, whether in a soldier, statesman, foxhunter or bishop, and it was acting on this that the Bishop of Oxford went straight from the Boyne Hill inquiry to meet a Yorkshire mob.' A letter from one of the senior clergy of the diocese is here given as representing what many of these men felt towards and said to their Bishop on this subject.

October 27, 1858.

My dear Lord,—As you have entered on the subject of your present troubles, suffer me to relieve my mind (which I should not otherwise presume to do) by giving you some of my thoughts on the subject. My grief and indignation at all that has been said and written against you are extreme. I could not conceive that such a mountain of calumny and misrepresentation could rise so high or stand so long *without any foundation whatever*. It began by the public taking up the false notion that Mr. West's offence consisted in enforcing confession and consequently that your refusal of an open trial arose from your having a latent predilection for that practice. Considering how unfortunately Mr. West was connected with Mr. Gresley and considering Mr. Gresley's injudicious conduct, this idea, though erroneous, was not unnatural. I feared that it would be so and I ventured to tell you that you would not satisfy people by your letter to Mr. Shaw but would draw on yourself the charge of stifling the plot. But the provoking thing is, that now it has been proved in open Court, what *you* saw clearly from the first, that Mr. West's case had nothing whatever to do with confession to a Priest, they still cling, in face of daylight, to an error which they had embraced in the darkness of their ignorance and argue upon premises which have been disproved, as if they were true. Another thing strikes me forcibly. No Bishop has been before his laity of all ranks as you have,

but *not one word of accusation* can even your enemies extort from any expression in any charge or sermon, or any gesture or practice of *yours* in your almost daily ministration of Church services before them. It all rests on the alleged wrong practice or foolish words and conduct of others, with whom you are assumed to sympathise; and when you say, in the plainest words, that you do not agree with them, you are disbelieved, *not* because such words are at variance with anything *you have ever done or said* but because they disagree with the opinion which they have chosen to form of you.

Such is the foundation of the late article in 'The Times' about Bradford. They dress up, as it were, a lay figure of a Prelate loving auricular Confession and highly Tractarian, and call it *you*, and then wonder that you do or say anything inconsistent with this imaginary character. Everyone who *really knows* you has heard you continually express admiration of all those, whether Puritan, Quaker, Evangelical or others, who have realised some one great truth of the Gospel and acted on it. Let me give you one more of my thoughts. I have often thought that from your great abilities, your unwearied usefulness, your kindness of heart and courtesy of manners, your danger would be being too much idolized by all who knew you; it has pleased God to withdraw that trial and to substitute the one which I should have the least anticipated for you, namely, detraction and unpopularity. But there are many whose love and respect for you are not to be so easily shaken. I have known you for many years in public and private, in your serious and in your gayer moods, and I can declare that I never heard from you a word, or witnessed an action, inconsistent with your professions, or unbecoming a Christian Prelate.

Sept. 1. *Lavington.*—The boys off at 3.30 A.M. to shoot. At 12.30 R. Randall came in. Frightened me by saying, 'a very special matter.' I thought of the boys shooting at Graffham. It was Edward Randall's long threatened attack in the National Standard (Brock and Co.'s Paper) which reprints at

length all the scurrility of the past fortnight. I sick at heart. Lord, Thou knowest my innocence.

This refers to another of the attacks made upon the Bishop by the Low Church party, who could not forgive him for not casting in his lot with them. Mr. Randall, the Rector of Lavington and Graffham, had at the time a curate of the same name but of widely different Church views. The curate stirred up a storm against his rector for certain ritualistic practices, and the Bishop was attacked, not for anything he had himself done or said but for the opinions and errors of others. It is hardly necessary to state that the parish of Lavington is in the Diocese of Chichester and the Bishop's connection with it was that of owning the property.

Sept. 11. [*Lavington*].—Letters, &c. R. Randall coming in in distress with National Standard and fresh attacks utterly laughing to scorn, with insult and contumely to the Bishop of Chichester, *his* defence. Busy with Archdeacon and R. Randall, considering, writing, &c.

Sept. 18. *Cuddesdon.*—Davenport came and brought 'The Times,' stating that no health of Bishop and clergy at Banbury on account of the Confessional, &c. Oh God, lift up Thine arm.

Sept. 20.—Many searchings of heart. Why so troubled?—doubtless to teach me more simplicity in serving God—less eye to success—more to His glory; resolved and prayed. Add to daily self-examination as to whether I have said anything unkind or depreciatory of anyone. May God help me.

The following letter of advice was written by the Bishop to a great friend as to the necessity of attending the services of the English Church while travelling on the Continent, instead of going to Roman Catholic places of worship.

September 22, 1858.

My dear ——, I hear from —— that you do not attend the English Services now you are abroad. I have a *very* strong opinion that this is *wrong*. You are abroad, a member of the English Church. You would not be admitted, on an open profession of what you are, to the highest ordinances of our Faith by Roman Catholics. You are forsaking *the* authorized channels of God's Grace to you; you cannot tell how much you may lose or how much peril you may be in or how much peril you may incur. Thus it is wrong to yourself. It is wrong to your Church, which is lowered in the eyes of others by such desertion. It is wrong to your brother Churchmen who may follow your lead and be shaken in faith even if you are not. I am yours most affectionately

S. Oxon.

The following letter to his friend, Sir C. Anderson, is one of condolence on the death of a near relative; it furnishes another proof of the Bishop's perpetual reminiscence of his own great loss and, after touching upon some personal matters, alludes to Lord Brougham, whose guest he then was.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Brougham, Oct. 8, 1858.

My dearest Anderson,—I found your most moving letter on getting here last night. It brought the whole scene most closely before me. The funeral, the entries in the private book, the loving, watching, silent by-life of the old saint set so much apart from us who are in the eddies and the storms of the great life gulf. It brought too, for such is the fellowship of sorrow, all my own great griefs before me till my eyes filled:—my beloved Herbert, his mother's joy, your stay with us at Brighstone, *her* admiration of you—our mutual happiness, your loving visit to me at Winchester. How many are the buffetings of the stormy waves. Oh how hard,

my dearest friend, to live really apart, fixed firm in the love of God and our Lord. Yet as He has given us something of this and brought us through so many temptations and helped us against what seemed to us irresistible evil in ourselves, yet shall He in time carry us on even to what we would be. I did see the comet that wonderful night—one of the most beautiful sights I think I ever saw. Yesterday in all this country was tremendous storm and the rivers are 'out' and the hills covered with snow ; the sight of the range from my bedroom window this morning was most beautiful. I have been suffering greatly for the last four or five days from neuralgia in the jaw. I thought I was growing too large ; so at Lavington I have been following a very strict regimen and taking a good deal of exercise, with the salutary effect of a great diminution in size, having lost 1 stone 3 pounds. But now has come on this violent neuralgia, the doctor says from having reduced myself, and I am taking quinine and port wine till my ears ring. I am, however, better to-day and slept better. My host is in high preservation, works very hard, is full of energy and interest on all matters : takes enormous pains to get up all his subjects. It is very interesting to see such a man close at hand.

Oct. 8—*Brougham.*—Long talk with Lord Brougham in his room. Of Cornewall Lewis : 'he has the real love of truth which belongs to an historian. Now my friend Macaulay wants his facts for his writing. I think they can't make C.L. into a leader.' 'But cannot he speak as well as Althorpe ?' 'Oh, but he is very unlike Althorpe—Althorpe had such personal weight—and at the Reform Bill his readiness was wonderful ; no objection could ever be raised without his having at once answers ready from every part of the Bill which bore on it. It was like touching a note of music, when every other note answers. I said we must have Jack Althorpe in the Lords, for who else can fight the Reform Bill through all difficulties ? But he would not hear of it. I have heard Pitt frequently. He was *very* great : not so persuasive as Fox. You never so much lost sight of the great artist. But wonderful—a power of endless speech—too much so with

the same grandeur on every subject perhaps. One of the finest I ever heard was on the attack on Lord St. Vincent's administration of the Navy. Lord —— had said "we feel safe during this administration," and Sir W. Curtis had said "whilst the Navy is in the hands it now is the city is at rest and we can sleep soundly in our beds." We expected to hear more of all this and when Pitt came forward, he said, "Confidence, sir, in some minds strikes its roots so deep that nothing can shake it. I have no doubt that if our great enemy had possession of Plymouth, if his ships commanded Portsmouth harbour, if they already held the mouth of the Thames, that some men would still feel quite safe if the navy were administered by the noble Lord and that worthy Aldermen might even sleep more soundly than ever." Pitt was very great in sarcasm. Sheridan's best speech, I believe, was that in which he attacked Pitt in 1805 for upsetting the Doctor.[7] Pitt's invective at Tierney when he joined the Doctor, "though I have not found him so formidable in defending, as I remember him in assailing, the noble Lord." I do not think very highly of Lord Derby as a speaker. You speak a great deal better than he does—though Derby is very good as a debater.' Lord Brougham very strong on the evil of the present dominance of the newspapers. Full of most careful preparation of himself for the coming Liverpool meeting—working on when we broke up at past 11 at night. 'I read your letter in "The Times" and thought it admirable; not one syllable to be changed; not one word too much or too little' (so said Pollock on Wednesday).

Oct. 9.—A long talk with Lord Brougham: at 12 off in his carriage to Pooley Bridge. Called on Dean Close, who in summer quarters in a charming house overlooking Ulleswater. Close jolly as ever and nice daughters *with children*—oh how happy! and Mrs. Close good and saintlike. Then over Kirstone to Wansfell.

Oct. 12.—After 8, breakfast. Off by boat with F. Hopwood and R. Durnford to Newby Bridge. On coach to Ulverston—rail to Carlisle—saw Lord Muncaster *en route.*

[7] Lord Sidmouth.

Very beautiful line. In fly to Netherby. A. Brewster, the Persignys and Sir James Graham and family. A hearty welcome.

Oct. 13.—Much talk with Persigny and Sir James. Persigny very strong for English alliance. The Emperor wishing to get rid of universal suffrage and to give liberty of debate, &c.; but 'how can he in the face of Legitimatists and Orleanists? he would lose the masses his strength, and not gain the others. But *temps, temps, temps!* let these parties be dissolved by finding the security and peaceful possession of their own which the Empire secures, and the Emperor can and will give liberty.'

Oct. 14.—Off at 4.30 for Carlisle and by railroad to Haddo. Read a good deal and meditated. Newspapers again assailing, insinuating that I had changed my ground. How sore is my spirit under these attacks on my honesty. Found peace at last looking to God. He allows it. To me it is His will. His Blessed Will. Most kindly received at Haddo by Lord Aberdeen.

Oct. 15. *Haddo.*—The day very wet. Walked for an hour and a half with Arthur in rain late in the afternoon. Wrote many letters. Walked in corridor with Lord Aberdeen. Much talk with him. More silent than two years ago, otherwise little altered. He repeated Lord Holland's declaration, of Lord Liverpool being the fairest debater, put, if possible, better than he had done his adversary's arguments. A man of a very fair mind. 'The Duke took strong likes and dislikes. I proposed once sending Haddington somewhere. "He—he is one of our greatest enemies!" He took likings to scamps, Brummel, &c. In all my intercourse with her, the Queen never but once was really sharp—when I had made the Bishop of Salisbury. She acquiesced at once, but wrote to me afterwards as if I had taken her in to make an extreme man.' 'Was it the Prince's influence?' 'Yes, in part, only in part. . . . John Russell couldn't wait even for me and now these years have passed he must be very sharp-set. He said of the present Government about the Reform, What can we look for from the Jockey and the Jew?

Argyll would rather see reform in John Russell's hands than Graham's. There is more regard, he says, to bunkum in Graham. Ellice said of Graham, the greatest of administrators but he never makes a speech without making an enemy. People think the Queen altered in her dislike for Palmerston. Not a bit. She dislikes him as much as ever.'

Oct. 16.—Day again wet. I suffering a good deal from rheumatism and depression of spirits. Walked twice with Lord Aberdeen, he talked a good deal, reckoned that he had planted about 14 millions of trees in his time. Nothing when he came to it at Haddo but the limes and a few Scotch firs.—The climate evidently very unpropitious—yet P. Cephalonica grows well. 'Lord Liverpool was a very timid man: never sufficiently regarded—he carried the country through the most formidable war in which it was ever engaged. No use in having your general if Liverpool had not raised taxes. Castlereagh was a very bold man—not very scrupulous—I do not mean a positively dishonest man in anything but, having great purposes, would not stick at the means of carrying them out.—George IV. was certainly a Sybarite but his faults were exaggerated—he was *to the full* as true a man as his father.—He would embrace you—kiss you--seized on the Duke and kissed him.—He certainly could be the most polished of gentlemen: or the exact opposite. They said he was always partial to me and when I was sent to him he asked "What — thing have I got to yield to now, that they have sent *you* to break it to me?" In 1818:—George IV. was indolent but he always read important papers. Especially foreign affairs—he would not wade through long-winded colonial papers. But *that* is always the case—the foreign affairs are what interests them—they concern the family of Princes.—The English people are very little for foreign affairs and so much the better for us.—The Duke was at times in great alarm about invasion—but not so much because he thought that steamers, &c., had changed the character of warfare but because we were unprepared. He wanted more men—more militia—more ships—harbours of

refuge, as we call them: i.e. harbours of aggression and expensive fortifications.' 'Will Gladstone ever rise to the first place?' 'Yes—I have no doubt he will. But gradually, after an interval. He must turn the hatred of many into affection first and he *will* turn it if he has the opportunity given him. Gladstone has some faults to overcome. He is too obstinate—if a man could be too honest, I should say he is too honest. He does not enough think of what other men think. Does not enough, as his brother says, look out of the window.' 'Whom is he to head?' 'Oh! it is impossible to say! Time must show and new combinations. I told John Russell that what I wished to see was, him in the House of Lords at the head of the Government and Gladstone leading the Commons. J. Russell received it in silence but did not seem to me to reject it. He could *trust* Gladstone in such a post, which he could hardly any other man.—I think *most highly* of James Stephen. He is a very first-rate man and the most unpopular man in Europe. I do not quite know why. Perhaps something in his treatment of inferiors was the cause. I was never in that relation to him. I stood in the relation of an admiring Master. His Papers on the laws of the Colonies were admirable digests.'

Oct. 17.—I asked Lord Aberdeen: 'Do you believe a story Brougham told me, that the Duke meant, if the equestrian statue were taken down, to resign his commission, &c. and said "I fear I cannot the Peerage."' 'I do not believe that but it *might* be true. He felt wonderfully strongly about its being an indignity. Brougham won upon him by flattering him. I believe that I was accessory to the beginning of it. The Duke hated him. But I told him that Brougham had said of his despatches. "They will be read when we are forgotten." The Duke said, with the greatest simplicity, "By —, so they will. I cannot think how the —— I came to write them."'

Oct. 21 (*Edinburgh?*).—Up, worn and harassed in body and mind—quieted as to last by daily service. To Durham and lunched at the Deanery—then to afternoon church and on by rail to Bishop Auckland Castle, where received most

kindly. Dear Bishop Longley surrounded by his family and happy in them.

Dec. 18. *Cuddesdon.*—Early Communion, &c. Saw poor ——. Miserable at rejecting him. Tried to get any one of the Chaplains to pass him in vain and at last refused. I have never had so hard a case; he seems so set on doing God's work and to reject such an one so hard and yet he *is* too ignorant. All day seeing the men alone and very weary at night, with that and Charge.

Dec. 31. *Lavington.*—Day drizzling. Wrote all the morning with Archdeacon Randall, in the afternoon to service at Graffham, and so passes 1858, with its many mercies, many sins and not a few sadnesses.

CHAPTER XII.

(1859.)

CONVERSATION WITH LORD ABERDEEN — 'FACTS AND DOCUMENTS'—ADDRESSES OF CONFIDENCE — THE BISHOP'S ANSWER TO THE CLERICAL ADDRESS—A WEEK'S WORK—SPEECH AT OXFORD ON OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE MISSION—MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE—HONORARY DEGREE OF D.C.L. —EXTRACTS FROM LORD CARLISLE'S DIARY—DIOCESAN CORRESPONDENCE—SPECIMENS OF LETTERS TO RURAL DEANS—LETTER TO CHURCHWARDENS WHO COMPLAINED OF THEIR CLERGYMAN—LETTER TO A LAY PATRON WHO MADE A SIMILAR COMPLAINT.

January 29.—With Lord John Russell *tête-à-tête* to Wellington College—he entertaining. 'At my Reform Bill, four prepared it, I, Lord Durham, Dungannon, and Althorpe. Althorpe had to explain it to Stanley; I to C. Wynn. I began and Wynn asked me all sorts of questions about Wales. I could not answer—he resigned—Lord Althorpe sent for me over—I went—found Stanley going to do the same. Well, Althorpe did not understand it, so I went through it, and he said, "It is a very large measure," and I feared, "but you are right."'

February 19.—Up—and office—and saw people. Then breakfast Grillion's. Saw Lord Aberdeen. Conversation. 'Gladstone I fear has injured himself. These seventeen resolutions are fanciful.[1] He will come back and battle it out, and speak as well as ever, but the effect will not be the same. It will be something like Brougham, who speaks as well as possible, but no one listens. I am very uneasy about it. Things look more like war every day. The Emperor cares

[1] The Resolutions which Mr. Gladstone as High Commissioner submitted to the Ionian Parliament.

nothing for public opinion in France. He has gone too far to get back. Cavour is at the bottom of it all. I hear that Lord John and Palmerston too have come together. They agree about Italy on Minto's plan. So there will be mischief there. The chances are all against Derby keeping in.'

February 7. — (Cuddesdon.) Greatly dejected about Liddon going—Golightly's business. He refusing to come at my bidding ! ! I ought not to have allowed myself to give him a hit—and now led him into this sinful revenge. Lord pardon him and me. Rode in extreme dejection to meet Ernest coming from hunting. Sad all evening.

This entry refers to the publication of a pamphlet called 'Facts and Documents showing the alarming State of the Oxford Diocese, by a Senior Clergyman of the Diocese.' It was anonymous but was soon well known to be the work of the Rev. C. P. Golightly. Although the charges against Cuddesdon College had been disproved, although he had been condemned in the costs of an action which was known at the time as the Lavington case, he still persisted in attacking the Bishop. This conduct elicited such an expression of sympathy from the whole diocese that it must be mentioned. The charges in the pamphlet are too many to enumerate but a few are quoted to show the malignant hostility as well as the absurdity of some of them. For instance, the Bishop was taunted with the allegation that a number of his relatives had left the Church of England for that of Rome, and to swell this number and make the charge seem real all the children were counted, who of course had no option in the matter. Another charge was that a representation in stone of the Assumption of the Virgin had been dug up in Sandford churchyard and placed in a prominent place in Sandford Church; which was true, only the

writer omitted to state that this had been done 150 years ago and not during the Bishop's episcopate. The pamphlet further revived the old charge 'that the Oxford diocese was the centre of a Romanising movement.' The first reply to this pamphlet was from the archdeacons and rural deans of the diocese, who in a long address expressed their entire confidence in their Bishop and concluded by saying, 'We therefore feel bound solemnly to declare that the statements of the "Senior Clergyman" are, in our judgment, presumptuous and unfounded calumnies against your Lordship.' Strong language, it is true, but the Bishop so governed his diocese, so worked with these men, that they felt and knew themselves to be as much attacked as he was, and their address was as much their own defence as the defence of their Bishop.

Another address of confidence was sent by the Rev. Dr. Wilson,[2] and signed by more than 500 clergymen. Dr. Wilson was one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, clergyman in the diocese; he had, in fact, ministered under six successive Bishops of Oxford. He was a man who alike from his name, his age, and his freedom from party spirit, gave a weight to the address which no other clergyman in the diocese could have given. The Bishop's reply to the address is as follows :—

April 2, 1859.

My Reverend Brethren,—I thank you from my heart for the assurance of your 'respect and affection' which has been called forth by what you justly term the utterly 'unworthy' charges of the anonymous calumniator of our diocese. To have received such an assurance from between five and six hundred of such clergymen as have signed your address is no

[2] Brother of the Bishop of Calcutta.

slight reward for the labours of fourteen years amongst you. You have indeed rightly understood the principles on which I have endeavoured to administer my diocese; to maintain and set forward that evangelical truth and that apostolical order which through God's mercy is the precious inheritance of our own Church. This is the 'true Protestantism' of the Church of England, this is 'the religion of the Bible' as she has received it; this is her distinctive teaching as proved by 'Holy Scripture' and embodied in her formularies; this under the leading and by the might of God the Holy Ghost must, if anything can, save this favoured country from Popery, latitudinarianism, and infidelity.

I trust, my beloved brethren in the ministry, that this cordial assurance of your love, which I return from my inmost heart, may, through the blessing of Almighty God, stir me up to live and labour, and suffer reproach more patiently, more lovingly and more faithfully, than I have yet done; and that we may all, with more love for the souls for which Christ died, more trust in Him and more simple fidelity to His Gospel, make full proof of that apostolical ministry which has been committed to us by the Holy Ghost, in this pure and reformed branch of God's Holy Catholic Church. I am, my reverend brethren, most truly and affectionately yours,

S. Oxon.

A letter to 'The Guardian' called forth by this pamphlet, while indignantly pointing out the mischief it might do, records one of the Bishop's weeks of work. The letter was written before the addresses had been drawn up. It was called 'Position of the Bishop of the Diocese, based upon some fresh Facts and Documents.'

Two documents have fallen into my hands, one through the indiscretion of the Bishop's Registrar, the other, through the carelessness of a North Bucks vicar. From these I gather a few fresh 'facts,' all tending to illustrate the 'posi-

tion of the Bishop of the diocese.' Yet really of such a very erratic individual it would be difficult to define the 'position.' He has none. The locus of such a body does not seem to have been the same for three hours together, for the last week, unless when his Lordship was a-bed ; if indeed he goes to bed, of which I have my doubts. From the documents referred to, I gather that on Sunday week the Bishop held a confirmation at Stony Stratford at 11, another at Calverton at 3, preaching at New Wolverton at 6.30. On Monday he confirmed at Beachhampton at 11, at Shenley at 3, and preached at Stony Stratford. On Tuesday and Wednesday he confirmed at Haversham, Hanslope, North Crawley, and Newport Pagnell, preaching in the evenings at Hanslope and Newport. Thursday he confirmed at Weston Underwood and Sherrington, preaching in the evening at Olney. Friday, confirmed at Great Wolston and North Wolverton, preaching at 7.30 at Buckingham. Saturday and Sunday appear to have been idle days, but from a private document I gather that from 11 to 12 his lordship being at Buckingham presided over a conference of his clergy, from 12 to 3.30 over a considerable synod of clergy and laity, from 3.30 to 6.30 he held a confirmation in the parish church, and from 6.30 till 7.30 delivered his Ordination Charge. Next morning from 10.30 till 3 he was engaged with his Ordination, at 4 he was at Lillingston Dayrell to confirm the children of two villages. Where shall we look on or off the Episcopal Bench for the like amount of ministerial exertion? For the Bishop's confirmation addresses are not mere mechanical performances. Those earnest addresses, those stirring appeals call for and imply prolonged efforts of thought and attention. He has been, in a manner, performing three full services daily, for the last eight days! What amount of anxious correspondence, public and private, interviews with candidates for ordination, and all the rest of a Bishop's incidental duties, must not have been superadded to this?

In addition to these testimonies the Bishop received an address from over 4,000 laymen living at and near

Reading. These spontaneous addresses of sympathy tell their own tale, showing how through good report and evil report the Bishop's consistency of purpose had brought conviction to the minds of clergy and laity alike. This feeling was plainly shown at a meeting in the theatre at Oxford on May 17. The meeting was held on behalf of 'The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa,' the Bishop in the chair. One of the speakers referred to the agitation that had been recently going on in the diocese, when he was interrupted for fully five minutes by tremendous applause; and when at the close a vote of thanks was proposed to the Bishop as chairman, the whole of those assembled stood up and cheered so long and so vociferously that a considerable time elapsed before order was sufficiently restored to enable the Bishop to give the blessing. This reception was all the more significant from the fact that the majority of those present were clergy who had come for the double purpose of attending the meeting and of taking part in the election of proctors for the new convocation. The Diary entry for the day is as follows :—

May 17.—After chapel and breakfast to Oxford—where synod for electing proctors—all passed cordially and quietly. Lloyd and Leighton unopposed. Then meeting in theatre for African Missions. Very good, and special cordiality shown to me.

This was the first meeting held to form the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa. The Bishop, replying to the vote of thanks, which had been moved to him as chairman and enthusiastically carried, after saying how England as a nation had wronged Africa, and therefore she ought as a nation

to endeavour to repair that wrong, concluded by pointing out the danger of mere religious study untempered by works of Christian charity. He said he believed that for such bodies as theirs to be called often from their deep studies and from their polemical maintainings of the truth, to the practical action of spreading Christ's faith in the world, was a most wholesome and blessed discipline. Where was it that suspicions were born and increased and multiplied—where was it that hearts were narrowed and sympathies cooled—where was it that every man's own special and peculiar view became magnified and intensified until it consumed all his being and reduced him from the Christian man to the slave of some little myth of his own? This went on among men who did not act for Christ—who did not keep alive the sympathy of their hearts in healthy, united action, but lived in darkness with images floating dimly before them, which they mistook for facts until they led them into the uttermost night. They might depend upon it that it was thus that acrid humours were bred in the mind spiritual. It was thus that the mind spiritual was narrowed and darkened, until it became a vial fit only to contain those acrid humours; and thus it was that Christ's Gospel became an instrument of mutual invective instead of a doctrine of universal love.

The following letter to Mr. Gordon gives an insight into some of the Bishop's extra Diocesan work. The meetings were held on behalf of the S.P.G.; the Consecrations and Confirmations were for the Bishop of Exeter; at the end of this week the Diary contains the remark, 'Much tired, voice hardly holding out.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

Bishopstowe, Oct. 28, 1859.

Since we broke up at Lavington I have not had one moment's rest. First about my Diocese and now in a wider range I have been daily confirming, consecrating, preaching, meeting-ing. This last week I have been preaching at Gloucester, Wells and Exeter Cathedrals; confirming in Exeter Cathedral, and to-day between 6 and 700 at Plymouth. I am here with Bishop of St. Davids, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Claughton, W. Scott, Mackarness. To-morrow we are to discuss. On Monday I am to go to Cambridge to attend on Tuesday a Central African meeting, have an honorary D.C.L. &c. &c. We really must meet soon.

The second meeting in connection with this united mission took place at Cambridge on November 1. Before the meeting itself the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon the Bishop,[3] and at the same time upon Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Walpole, and Sir George Grey. The following letter to his son in India gives an account of the meeting.

[3] The following is the speech made by the Public Orator, the Rev. W. G. Clark of Trinity, which referred to the Bishop :—'Adest in primis, Samuel, Episcopus Oxoniensis, qui exemplum utque precepta egregii patris secutus, patriæ et religioni, virtuti et humanitati per totam vitam sedulo consuluit, "diocesin" cui præfectus erat summa prudentia reformavit instruxitque, denique admirabili dicendi facultate ita usus est ut in curia proceres optimis conciliis firmaret, in concione populum disciplina verè Christiana imbuerit, et ad omnia bona opera hortaretur. Idem, hodie, sui haud dissimilis, Africanarum gentium patrocinium quasi hæreditario jure suscipiens, earum causam apud vos acturus est. Persuasum enim sibi, ut opinor, habet illam totius humani generis labem, infame servorum commercium, tunc demum evulsum iri si ipsi barbarorum animi a bellis perpetuis et a dira superstitione ad pacis artem et justitiam et veram fidem avocati fuerint.'

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Hitchin, Nov. 3, 1859.

I have been going about partly for S.P.G., partly to help the Bishop of Exeter in some of his confirmations. My last visit has been to Cambridge, which I only left this morning to come here to preach for S.P.G. I went for Dr. Livingstone's Central African Mission, and we had a most wonderful gathering, 2,500 people, and the University gave me and Mr. Gladstone, and Sir G. Grey, Governor of the Cape, and Mr. Walpole honorary degrees of Doctor of Law, and it would have delighted your loving heart to hear how they cheered your Father, showing how little the educated and thinking people care for the abuse people will get who do their duty. They went on round after round, for minutes before the public orator could go on. I tell you this, God knows, not from any vanity about it, but because I am sure it will give you pleasure in your far-off banishment.

On the morning after the meeting the committees of the Oxford and Cambridge and London branches of the mission met under the presidency of the Bishop, when it was decided to invite Archdeacon Mackenzie, who had returned to England after five years' work in Natal, to head this new mission as Bishop.

On November 23 the Bishop attended and spoke at another meeting intended to promote missionary causes in another part of the world—British Columbia. Dr. Hills had been consecrated Bishop, and the meeting had the double object of bidding him farewell and raising funds for the mission.

The subjoined extracts are from the Diary of Lord Carlisle :—

April 17.—Stoke Park. We went to two of the confirmations at Stoke and Farnham Royal. The Bishop of Oxford

does it in the most impressive and admirable manner. He is also most agreeable socially, very droll to-night in his account of the Bishop of St. Asaph's simple-minded conceit. He has a great admiration of Thirlwall, thinks him a bad speaker, unlike Blomfield who spoke above his abilities.

April 19.—We talked of Parliamentary speakers. The Bishop quite agrees with me in putting Gladstone first in the present House of Commons, and Bright second. Gladstone far above Peel. We both too put Lord Derby first in the Lords, he said Brougham did not rate him high.

May 6.—I railed with the Gladstones and Sir W. Farquhar to Oxford, thence in a fly to Cuddesdon Palace; there are many besides. Sir Thos. Fremantle, wife, son and daughter, the Dickensons, the Provost of Eton, the Warden of All Souls, Archdeacon Randall, Mr. Fosbery, Mr. Burgon, Mrs. Sargent.

May 7.—We took a walk of about eight miles. . . . We inspected the Cuddesdon College for graduates intending to take orders. The Bishop seems to gather men of promise about him, and they seem to have a great feeling for him. Lady Mildred Hope arrived with two daughters to be confirmed; the heads of Oriel and Exeter dined, and others; in all above thirty. I admire and envy the Bishop's fearless hospitality, not minding who know each other, and how they will suit.

May 8.—Morning service at the church in the village, and a confirmation, all very striking and harmonious. The Bishop drove me and Sir Charles Anderson two miles to Peddington, where he preached to a most rural audience for their new schools. He rather overtires himself; four services to-day.

June 3.—Breakfast with the Bishop of Oxford; Lords Macaulay, Stanhope, Granville, Van de Weyer, Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, Sir John Lawrence and one or two more. It was very agreeable.

As compared with the preceding years 1859 contains little to record beyond what has been already mentioned. Yet it was one of the most important periods in the Bishop's whole episcopate; it was the

turning of a new leaf in the history; he was at last the undisputed master of his own diocese. Among the acts of this year was the dismissal from office of one of the Buckinghamshire rural deans, who had taken a prominent part in the late agitation, and whose services, now that peace was restored, the Bishop dispensed with. Of the few extracts which follow some were written to him, others to another rural dean, who in time became one of the Bishop's staunchest supporters. They are given as instancing the amount of obedience to episcopal authority which the Bishop expected and claimed from his clergy.

To extract at any length from the Bishop's copying books, would uselessly encumber this volume; suffice it to say that there are numbers of letters of reproof, counsel, &c. Letters requiring a second Sunday service and more frequent celebrations, or bidding the clergy make peace with their parishioners, or ordering them to reside regularly, or refusing to license curates if they persisted in hunting, or assuring correspondents that although two of his brothers had embraced the Roman faith, yet that he had no tendency in the same direction, or illustrating his method of dealing with anonymous complaints, a class of correspondence to which, from his position as Bishop, he was peculiarly exposed. If opinions were paraded he threw letters into the fire; if complaints were alleged he sent the complaints to the persons complained against, in order that they might know what had been said, and asked for any remarks they might wish to make. In one of these cases he gives a reason for this course: 'Just as I should pick up some valuable thing even out of the dirt, not, however, thinking the dirt less dirty.'

Still more illustrative of the Bishop's versatility and patience is the following :—

You have been misinformed as to the fact that I practise Table Turning. When the existence of such a power was first announced as an electrical phenomenon, I, in concert with many others, tried whether the fact was so. But no table turning followed my manipulation ; nor have I ever seen any experiment of the kind attended with the smallest effect, save when it was manifest to me that the movement was the result of simple muscular power. As far therefore as my observation goes, I should say it was the work of the Evil Spirit only so far forth as all frauds are, and that this was rather a clumsy one.

All these letters bear witness to the enormous care and labour bestowed by the Bishop on the management of the diocese ; they show how he went into the detail of every case, thoroughly sifting everything, however insignificant. In dealing with the clergy he was at great pains to show by his treatment of them that he favoured no party in particular. Writing to his friend Lord R. Cavendish, the Bishop thus explains himself :—

I quite agree with your general principle that the Bishops must not be one-sided in their discipline, and that it is exceedingly difficult not to be so from the absolute impossibility of checking on one side much we should wish to check because it has been so long unchecked ; whilst on the contrary the excess on the other side is recent and can yet be repressed. But great difficulty is necessarily involved in the just and right application of the principle. If we are to do nothing because we cannot do all, our office is gone. Surely the right thing is to show our hearty sympathy in all we can approve, and to deal gently yet firmly where we are bound in conscience to act and *can* act even though there be things as to which we *cannot* act.

Thus to a Rural Dean he writes as follows :—

You have not been used in Bucks to any Episcopal interference. You were the languid extremity of an overgrown diocese ; and you acted as Presbyterian chiefs doing without a Bishop. Consequently every exercise of my office which in any way thwarts your independence seems to you needless and hostile.

Again :—

The exercise of any control is odious to those who have been used to none ; and what can be so easy in the present day as to meet every exercise of the Bishop's oversight, though the mildest, with the cry that he is 'persecuting opinion' ?

Again :—

The duty of censuring others is to me perhaps the heaviest part of the burden of the Episcopate, and this weight is greatly increased when the discharge of my duty endangers the loss of those whose friendship I highly value.

Again :—

I can assure you that I have neither desire or design, nor ever had either, to exclude the 'Evangelical' clergy from my diocese ; so far from it, I would incomparably rather see it filled with 'Evangelical' clergy really in earnest themselves in loving our Lord Jesus Christ and in winning souls to Him than in the hand of high and dry worldly-minded pastors of the most orthodox views. With all that is positive in the views of my Evangelical brethren I not only sympathise, but trust that I know their favourite truths as the life of my own soul. I only long to show them what they seem to me to leave out, namely that full dispensation of the Spirit into which God's great mercy has brought us ; and the true holding of which seems to me to give the only consistent ground for the full and free maintaining of Evangelical truth.

His correspondence with another Rural Dean enables us more fully to understand his point of view :

I by no means 'require implicit obedience to every scheme which a Bishop may originate in his Diocese.' But I claim that his clergy should not actively oppose him in matters he is conducting without asking for their aid, unless it be one of those cases in which it is a sin not to resist, and I should ask you to tell me if thus much deference is not due, what *is* the Bishop's authority at all?

Again :—

I really should some day like when we are talking matters over at Cuddesdon to know what *you* think is the meaning of a Bishop's office, for I own I cannot gather from your letter that you conceive he has anything else to do with his Diocese than to ordain, and confirm candidates sent him by his clergy, and enforce legal penalties against open transgressors.

Again :—

If the Bishop's office be of God, if the Ordination promise and institution mean anything, then such passages of God's Word as Heb. xiii. 17 ; Rom. xvi. 19 ; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, must apply to the connection between a Bishop and his clergy, and if so a clergyman must *sin* who opposes the Bishop publickly in the administration of his Diocese on any matter which is not so vital as to suspend for the time by a direct appeal from his conscience to God all lower obligations.

Many letters are of an entirely different type, witness the following extract from a letter to a third Rural Dean written early in the Bishop's Episcopate :—

Never think that you weary me with questions as to anything which can strengthen your hands or lighten your heart.

Again :—

I saw in your face to-day that you were not yet strong. Pray be careful. There may be evil days ahead and great work to be done by such as you. Already indeed your work is great. I trust that you are not overworking and underfeeding yourself this Lent. May God's blessing be upon you and your labours.

Again :—

Such earthly love as yours is a true reflection of His love who hath loved us, and it is a great solace in a heavy time.

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Gordon shows how truly the Bishop's affection was reciprocated :—

Also came ——. He spoke about you with a warmth that did one's heart good, and was enough to make me love him forthwith. 'I pray for him night and morning,' quoth he, 'and would give every drop of blood in my body for him at any time.'

To another the Bishop writes :—

Your worn and anxious face as you sat before me in the Church quite haunts me. I suppose that you too, as I so often have, have great ebbings of spirit and great prostrations from close fitting troubles. Well, they are God's ministers to *us*, calling us not to rest in our outside work but to get inward. Inward to His Presence : close to the Cross under the Pressure and Moulding of the pierced hands. I have been praying for you that to-day may be a day of refreshing to you from the presence of the Lord.

The following letter to the churchwardens of —— shows the method the Bishop adopted in dealing with memorials from parishioners complaining of their cler-

gyman ; it also gives the Bishop's views as to how a clergyman seeking to introduce changes in the performance of Divine Service should be guided. As the letter shows, the Bishop availed himself of the services of a gentleman who was resident in the parish, to whom the Bishop writes as follows :

I have received the inclosed memorial from the vestry of your parish. May I trouble you to ascertain for me : 1. Who the parishioners are who agreed to this vote. 2. Whether in number, length of residence, and still more in moral and spiritual character, they are really qualified to represent the parish ? My motive for seeking this information is this. They *may* so represent it, and if so I think that Mr. —— ought in a matter *per se* so indifferent as to whether (within the prescribed limits of the Church of England) the service is conducted in this mode or that, to yield to the wishes of his parishioners. But they *may* be no true representation of the Church people of the parish, but a band of noisy people whose real object is to disturb the parish and oppose their clergyman, and who ought *not* to be listened to as the parish. Will you then ascertain who *did* attend and vote, and examine the majority so carefully that I may know their worth ? I will ask you to write me nothing hereon which I may not quote. 3. Will you inform me whether, as it asserts, this memorial expresses the opinion 'of a large portion of the ratepayers, meaning, I presume, of the parishioners generally.'

On receiving Mr. ——'s answer, the Bishop replied to the memorialists explaining the principles upon which he had always acted. First, he 'considers that the Church of England allows great liberty as to the use of music, chanting, &c., and that the fitness of employing a more or less plain service must be determined by local circumstances. Secondly, that *no change* should be lightly introduced into the mode of conducting the service, which would do violence to the

religious feelings of the members of the church who have been in the habit of frequenting it. Further, that the constant attendants at the church who live in accordance with its rules, and especially the communicants, and not mere ratepayers, are the persons to be mainly considered in applying these principles. And in applying them to the case of ——, the Bishop is happy to find that no complaint is suggested respecting the doctrine or life of the incumbent, but that the whole question is one concerning the chanting or reading parts of the service and such like matter. He finds, too, that no *alteration* in the mode of conducting the service is complained of, for that the only variation has been that, at the request of some of the parishioners, the present clergyman has changed the Morning Prayer from a chanted to a plain service; but that what is complained of is his retaining in the afternoon that chanted service, which has been in use ever since the church was built, but which, unhappily, is disliked by the memorialists. The Bishop, therefore, has next to consider who the parties are who have appealed for his interference with the incumbent, and whether they fairly represent the wishes of the Church people of the parish. To learn this the Bishop has applied to Mr. ——, a gentleman resident in the parish, warmly attached to the Church, of which he is a most faithful member; a man of unbounded benevolence, whose position in society places him above all parish jealousies; and whose education and habits entitle him to form a judgment on the matters in question. Mr. —— then informs the Bishop that the vestry which addressed his Lordship was composed of fifteen ratepayers, of whom fourteen voted for, and one against the address, but that the majority by no means repre-

sented the actual feelings of the Church people of the parish; the fact being that out of the fourteen no less than four neither reside in the parish nor ever attend at the services of the church; three others never attend Divine worship at the church; two more are habitual drunkards; and of the remaining small number of five, one, though in office, has already shown himself systematically opposed to the clergyman personally, and three have not long been resident in the parish. The person referred to as personally opposed to the clergyman so falsified, as it will be remembered, a recent presentment, as to deprive him of any consideration in the matter. It is clearly deduced, then, that the persons composing the vestry in no sense represented the body of Church people of the parish. And to the above analysis it may be added that two of the persons are believed to limit their opposition to the performance of a chanted service in this particular church, but prefer it elsewhere; so that it manifestly cannot interfere with their devotion. Further, Mr. ——, desiring to inform the Bishop as to the real feelings of the parish at large, reports, as the result of personal inquiry, that the greater proportion of householders are warmly in favour of no interference with their pastor and his mode of conducting the services of the church. In proof of this the Bishop has received an address, signed by 183 members of the church—of whom 93 are communicants—and a second address, signed by 26 occasional attendants at the church, stating their sorrow that he has been requested to interfere with the present manner of conducting the services of the church, their entire satisfaction with those services, and their entire confidence in their pastor. And Mr. —— informs the Bishop that many

others have expressed their agreement with the address, but that fears of temporal loss prevented their signing it. Thus out of a population of 370 persons (exclusive of children and absentees), 209 have expressed themselves either positively or negatively in favour of the existing church services and of their pastor; whilst many others would have done so if they dared. The Bishop, therefore, cannot doubt that he is really consulting the true religious feelings of the Churchmen of —— when he refuses to interfere with the conduct of the services in its church. And he exhorts the few who have signed the memorial, who can be considered Churchmen at all, to withdraw themselves from this mischievous agitation, which, it is feared, has been in great measure excited by a few who could not brook their pastor's faithfulness in reproving sin.'

The following letter to a powerful lay patron differs from the above in one particular, that in this instance the complaint was made by a single parishioner; they both, however, show that in complaints of this description, the Bishop's aim was the welfare of the parish, irrespective either of churchwardens or peers; and also how, whenever he could, he supported his clergy, so long as a clergyman was really acting with his *bonâ fide* church-going parishioners:

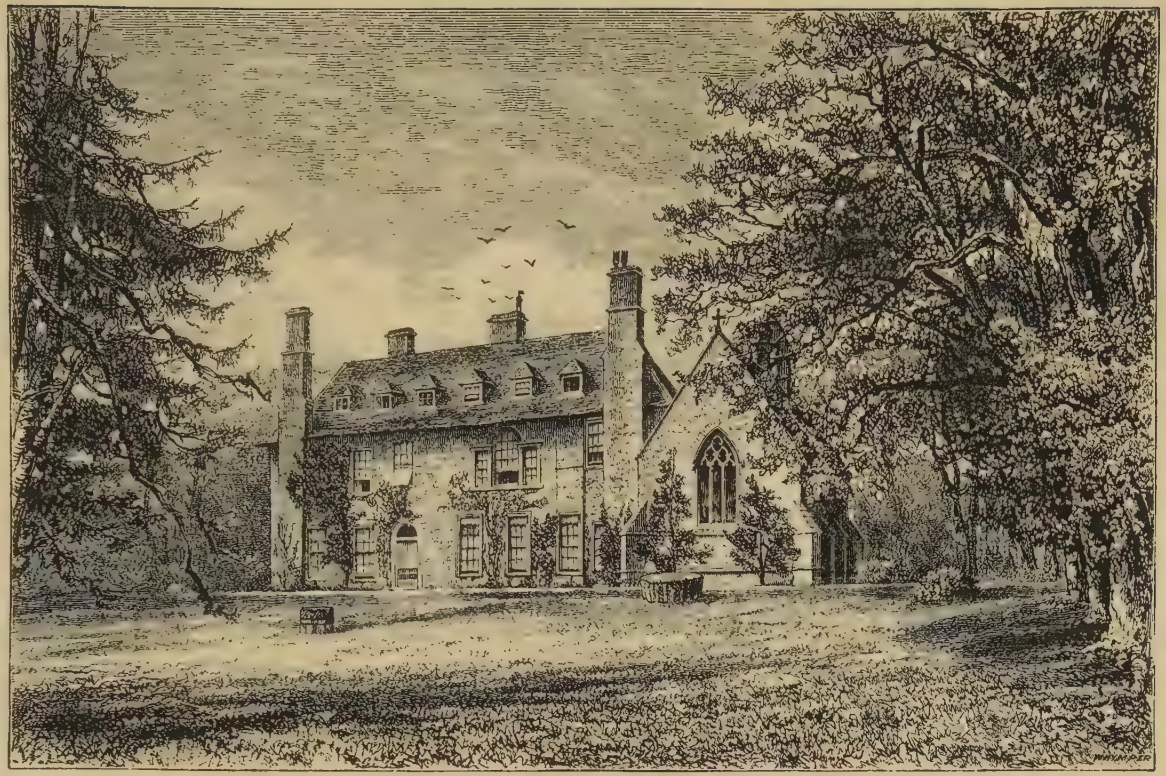
Cuddesdon Palace, January 10.

My Lord,—I have given my best consideration to your letter of the 5th inst. and weighed the question whether I could with propriety call on Mr. —— to alter the arrangements of his church in the matters as to which your Lordship complains. There are three grounds, any one of which would justify my taking such a step. 1. If the matters complained of had any Roman complexion, or tended towards any Romish error; 2. If though immaterial in themselves, they

implied any Romeward tendency in the Incumbent; 3. Or if their introduction scandalised the parishioners, and could therefore be condemned as a breach of charity. In this case, the *first* of these grounds clearly will not justify my interference, since the matters complained of have no Romish character and no Romeward tendency. They are, first, the presence, on certain ribbon marks in the service books, of certain small cardboard crosses; such small crosses as opposed to crucifixes are distinctly anti-Roman in their character and tendency. Secondly, That to light the clergyman who sits within the communion rails during a recently commenced evening service, two standard candlesticks have been introduced—(your Lordship's prejudice against candlesticks on the Holy Table having been yielded to by your Vicar)—the candles in which are only lighted for light in the dark season, and which are removed from the church when the service is intermitted. Thirdly, that in decorating, as usual, the church with evergreens at Christmas, although (again to consult your Lordship's wishes) no evergreens have been placed in the chancel, that a wreath has been placed over the chancel arch, and others twisted round the columns of the church. In these matters there is certainly no tendency whatever to Roman uses, but a simple observance of old and common English customs. The first ground, therefore, which would justify my interference does not exist here. Neither assuredly does the second. No man, least of all your Lordship, who regards him with so much affection, could dream of imputing to your highly respected relative and Vicar, who so eminently enjoys the love of his parishioners, after his faithful fifty years' devotion to the Church of England, free from all addiction to any extreme views, the slightest tendency towards Roman error. But it is, as I understand your Lordship's letter, on the third ground that you ask for my interference. I am therefore compelled to inquire whether your Lordship speaks the mind of the parishioners in wishing me to interfere herein with the Vicar. Now, as to this, I am informed that a vestry, called by those who take your Lordship's view, was held on May 6 to 'consider the best mode of obtaining the removal

of certain crosses fixed on certain riband marks used in the Bible and office book for the altar.' That the Vicar took no part directly or indirectly in obtaining the attendance of anyone at the vestry, or in influencing its decision, and was from illness himself absent; that your Lordship took the chair and supported by your presence, influence, and vote, a resolution for the removal of the 'marks,' but that, in spite of your just weight in the parish from property, residence, and character, only six parishioners, including your bailiff, &c. voted with you, while twenty-two voted that 'the crosses should not be removed;' I am further told that when after this decision your Lordship applied to your respected relative to remove them, he replied expressing his great regret that the question had ever risen, that had he ever dreamed of such importance being attached to such trifles he should never have introduced them; but that the vestry having (without his privity) been called to decide on the matter, and 'the wishes of by far the largest portion of his flock having been so unequivocally pronounced, he could not justify to his conscience going against their wish.' I cannot dissent from his view, that your Lordship having appealed to the decision of the parish, by the decision of the parish a matter so utterly trifling and indifferent in itself ought to be settled. Your Lordship has been misinformed as to my 'not being averse to innovations which annoy parishioners as in their opinions steps towards Popery.' I am most averse to the introduction by the clergy of *any* innovations which annoy their parishioners, and I have never omitted to enforce on the clergy of this Diocese the folly as well as the uncharitableness of making such innovations. For the reasons I have stated above, I cannot consider your Lordship's complaint against Mr. —— to fall under this head. I am sure that your Lordship will see that the peace of a parish may be as much endangered by a few leading members of it finding needless fault with the inoffensive course of a respected and beloved vicar, as by the unwise and uncharitable changes of an innovating clergyman. I remain, my Lord, your Lordship's very obedient

S. OXON.



CUDDESDON PALACE.

CHAPTER XIII.

(1860.)

LORD MACAULAY'S FUNERAL — READING MISSION — CONVOCATION AND THE 29TH CANON — CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE — MISSIONARY BISHOPS — THE RURAL DEANS AT CUDDESDON — RETREAT — THE BISHOP'S SPEECH ON ALTERATION OF THE PRAYER BOOK — THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT OXFORD — THE BIBLE IN INDIA — SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL (IRELAND) — EDUCATION 'CONSCIENCE CLAUSES' — CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE — MEETING AT BRIGHTON — EXTRACTS FROM 'CHARGE' OF 1860 — LORD ABERDEEN'S DEATH — FUNERAL.

THE following letter to Sir Charles Anderson was written on the Bishop's return to Cuddesdon after a brief holiday at Lavington, where it was his annual custom to spend Christmas:

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

January 7, 1860.

My dearest Anderson,— Many thanks for your affectionate letter. Do not you find it wonderfully hard to realise practically the uncertainty of one's own life, and the running out so fast of one's own sands of earthly being? I am sure I do. Partly, I suppose, this is God's appointment, or we could not take due interest in the things around us, partly our temptation. May God keep us both 'watching.' We are now on our road from Lavington to Cuddesdon. I have just set the two young men down at Reigate to go across to Reading, and I am rushing on to London to do a little business there, and meet them at Reading; since the trains are so vilely arranged that they can get no quicker that way as to time. In spite of the rain they have had a pretty good shooting time, and

neither caught cold. We expect a succession of guests on the 19th, the Mayor and Corporation, Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Abingdon, &c. for their annual dinner, and on the 23rd the Prince of Wales. On the 24th I go to the opening of Parliament, Convocation, &c. May God's blessing be with you all, my very dear friend.

January 9.—To Macaulay's funeral. Grand service; deeply impressive. The world's greatness and littleness. How nothing abides—but how he used those wonderful faculties. His purity, affection, and manifest increase of seriousness; attention to worship, &c.; *now* the things. D. Dundas movingly affectionate. Walked back with Lord Stanhope.

Writing the next day to Lord Aberdeen, the Bishop says: 'Yesterday's gathering in the Abbey was a very moving one; and not the least part of it to me was seeing gathered round that silent coffin so many who, at the Club, and at our Club-bish breakfasts, had been used to awaken those marvellous torrents of information.'

The first Mission held in the Diocese has been recorded;[1] the last within the years with which this volume deals, took place at Reading from February 26 to March 4; the Bishop preaching the opening and concluding sermon. The Bishops of London and Lincoln, the Warden of All Souls' (Dr. Leighton), Dr. A. P. Stanley,[2] Dr. Vaughan, and thirty-two clergy were gathered together to assist in preaching both on the Sundays and the intermediate week-days; the Services being held in St. Giles' and St. Mary's. In the Bishop's charge, delivered at the end of this year, he thus alludes to this Mission:

[1] Vide p. 30.

[2] At that time Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

It manifestly moved to its centre the population of that large town. I have yet before my eyes the sight of the great and deeply attentive number of those who listened to the sermon which set forth the sufficiency of Christ for man's salvation. I see yet with my mind's eye the devout attendance of large bodies of communicants, and that large brotherly assembly of clergy and laymen met together for mutual conference and edification. Some days after the Mission closed I had the pleasure of receiving a deputation of several of the principal inhabitants, bringing an address from a large body of laymen of all the parishes in the town, bearing testimony to the blessing which had been given by the Mission, and asking for a repetition for such special opportunities for growth in grace.

Convocation met on Tuesday, February 14, and sat until Saturday, the 18th. This was the longest session since its revival; and as the discussion of the 29th Canon in that Session led to the second great step in the revival of Convocation, it may be necessary to give some account of the part taken by the Bishop. Business was begun on the Tuesday when the Bishop of Lincoln presented a petition for the repeal of the 29th Canon, which prohibited parents from becoming sponsors for their children. And he urged, as one of the reasons for the necessity of its repeal, that parents often took their children to be baptized by Wesleyan ministers, who require no sponsors. The debate which followed turned on the point as to how far clergymen were bound to canonical, as apart from rubrical obedience. Bishop Wilberforce, who summed up, having explained the difference, passed on to the broader question of the expediency of altering the Canons. He said:

There remains the great inconvenience of a living active

body, full of life in every pore, nerve, and fibre, as I thank God the Church of England is at this time; there remains the great question whether we can allow a body to go on with the Canons in the condition they are now. It is a grave matter of reproach to the Church of England, and if you feel with me you might with the utmost safety set about effecting a change. I have not the smallest doubt that if we were to meet together to consult under royal authority in the drawing up of a new code of Canons, that we should be able with the utmost readiness, to draw up a practical set of Canons which would free the Church from the reproach to which I have alluded. I believe there is great evil done in the body physical in retaining a dead limb. If there be a dead part in the living body it is continually causing suffering, weakness and sickness, and nature uses every effort to throw it off; it secretes, exudes and exerts all its power to throw the dead matter off from itself, because the dead matter hinders in unseen ways the working of the body. And so it must be with the body spiritual. Our troubles, our difficulties, our want of unanimity in different parts, all may be traced to our having obsolete laws, which some people think are to be, some more, some less, enforced and observed; but which are in point of fact dead matter in the living body, and just in proportion to the increased life and action of the Church of England upon the masses of the heathen world generally, so in proportion the presence of this dead matter is felt and becomes a real injury. When the Church was asleep it mattered little, but she is now awake and really anxious to do her duty. . . . I believe, therefore, that the due and lawful alteration of our Canons and the obtaining of a set of living ones, would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon the Church.

On Thursday, the 16th, the Bishop again introduced the subject by presenting a petition on behalf of the Bishop of Exeter; he then urged the Bishops to agree to an Address to the Crown. On the 17th, the Bishop of London having again brought the subject

forward, Bishop Wilberforce moved formally for an Address; the motion was seconded by the Bishop of St. David's, and carried unanimously after a short discussion. The following letters to Mr. Gladstone, who was at the time Chancellor of the Exchequer, illustrate the Bishop's attitude towards this question:

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Near Petworth, February 20, 1860.

My dear Gladstone,—Have you marked that both Houses of Convocation—the Upper with the Archbishop and three at least of Lord Palmerston's Bishops present, London, Gloucester, and Norwich—have *unanimously* addressed the Crown to grant us a licence to alter the 29th Canon? This is quite a new phase of things. 1. When we asked before, we were divided, and the Archbishop in a minority. 2. It was for an object doubtful in itself. 3. And very difficult to define as to the limits it might spread to. Here: 1. All agree. 2. The object is one as to which all are agreed, and as to which all clergy in large parishes *greatly* need immediate relief. 3. It is defined within the narrowest limits. Now 1. This is precisely the case which falls within the Royal pledge, the correlative of the clergy's submission, that the clergy shall from time to time have the Royal licence when they desire it. 2. Lord Palmerston is the minister above all others who on such a demand from the Archbishop, Bishop of London, &c. can safely grant it; and 3. It is only thus that he can resist Lord Ebury's really troublesome demands by legislation. I trust that *you* will see to the answer put into the Queen's mouth. *You* can estimate the injury it will be personally to you, if your political enemies can taunt us Churchmen with being no better off from having you in Palmerston's Ministry. If on the budget or anything else you have to dissolve soon, I feel convinced it would make *the* difference of a *contest* if not of your election whether your

influence had been felt on these Church questions. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

February 23, 1860.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I was not aware of the proceeding in Convocation until I received your letter. I spoke to Lord Palmerston, and found he too knew nothing. But I begged to be heard upon it. At the same time I do not yet know what to say. For I have not been able to follow the proceedings, and am not aware of the intention. Any suggestion from you on a subject of this kind will always have my ready attention, nor do I forget my duties to my constituents. But it is not the fear of a future contest or hope of avoiding one that sways me. Without having to complain, I am entirely weary and sick of the terms upon which I hold the seat, and upon which (evidently) alone it is possible for me to hold it; and I shall be glad when the day comes which may enable me to relieve my friends in the University from all the trouble I cause them.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

February 24, 1860.

My dear Gladstone,—You did not quite understand one part of my letter. I did not mean that the prospect of a contest should influence you. I know you to be infinitely above such influence. I meant to suggest it as what would not occur to you, but which might most properly be suggested to Lord Palmerston and would be very likely to affect him. I quite understand your feeling about the seat, but I have a strong hope if your influence is allowed to be seen in Church matters, that you will never have another contest. I may say that this is more than my hope, it is my full belief. Thank

you for so kindly letting me lay before you anything on Church matters. I will try and state briefly as to this Convocation matter how things stand; in my judgment it is the very crisis of our usefulness. The reproach we labour under is doing nothing; you will remember pressing on me a year ago that we must go on to act, or become contemptible as mere talkers. Now the act for the submission of the clergy hinders our *acting* without the Queen's *licence*. Without it we can only 'confer.' We have once before applied, when Palmerston's Government was in office before, for a licence for a different matter. But the motion was carried by a narrow majority, the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Winchester voting in the minority. No licence was sent us, and we were given to understand that it was withheld because it was not a general request. *Now* we have conferred long on this Canon, the 29th, which orders as to the two godfathers and one godmother, or *vice versâ* for females, that the natural parents should not act as such. We have had petitions from the clergy in all parts to alter this. It absolutely prevents the baptism of many children, drives many to Dissenters, and wounds many consciences. It can be altered only by Convocation repealing it and framing a new Canon for the Royal Assent. This is what we want to do. We have after full discussion and with the fully expressed consent of the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, St. David's, Norwich, Gloucester, Llandaff, Chichester, &c., agreed *unanimously* to an address to the Queen praying for her licence to make this Canon; which will then be submitted for her assent. That is all a Canon needs. There is no going to Parliament. The licence will be only for making this one Canon, so there can be under it no unknown evils. The Lower House of Convocation has unanimously agreed to our address. Now to refuse this would be really unconstitutional in the highest degree. The clergy submitted to this limiting of their previous right to free discussions in the reign of Henry VIII. on the implied condition that they should receive this licence when they prayed for it. 'The King's Declaration,' Charles I.'s, reprinted and adopted by sovereign

after sovereign, repeats the promise; the licence has never yet been refused when unanimously prayed for by the clergy. To refuse it now, would be to say either that we never should alter one of the present Canons of 1603, or that the attempt should be made to alter them in some illegal way. Now Lord Ebury and the Liberal party are all for our introducing these alterations, there would therefore be popularity in Lord Palmerston granting this address; and there would be a great evil in such a prayer being for the very first time refused. The Archbishop has the address, and either has applied or will apply to the Home Secretary to know how her Majesty would wish it presented. If there is any point I have not made clear, will you write and ask? I am to be next week at a mission, at Castle Hill, Reading. I am ever, my dear Gladstone, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Diary entry which follows refers to the Royal Licence for the transaction of business :—

April 5.—Down to Windsor. Prince Alfred's Confirmation. Up to town with Ministers. Talk with Sir G. C. Lewis about Convocation. He for sending down the licence.

The assent of the Crown was signified in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary on May 25.

Convocation, which had been adjourned on February 18, met again for business on June 7; one of the first matters discussed was the 'Marginal Notes in the Bible.' The following letter to the Bishop of Exeter, whose letter on the subject was read by Bishop Wilberforce in the Upper House, shows the course he took on this subject :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Exeter.

June 8, 1860

My dear Lord,—I thank you very heartily for your inspiriting letter. I brought the Curator matter forward. It appeared that it was doubtful whether the vote of the House of Commons Committee, carried only by the casting vote of the chairman, would lead to the withdrawal of the privilege, and that it therefore would be premature to address the Queen. I therefore moved and carried an address to our President, praying him to watch the turn of the question, and communicate to the proper authorities that, in the opinion of our House, no Bible ought to be published with the marginal readings and without that part of the translator's preface which explained their significance, and that the President should communicate this to the Curators of the Press. The licence was not ready; but formally announced as granted. A really wonderful step in the return of self-directing power to our Church. May God order it for good. I am, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The subject of Missionary Bishops, which had been dropped in 1858, was brought forward by the Bishop in Convocation. A Committee of the Lower House had reported on the matter; a Committee of the Upper House had considered that report, which, as the Diary shows, had been drawn by the Bishop—

May 18.—Committee of Convocation, on Missionary Bishops, drew report.

And on that report the Bishop moved a resolution, which was adopted. He then moved a second resolution to the effect, 'That this House, having heard, with thankfulness to God, of the prospect of a mission being led by the Ven. Archdeacon Mackenzie into Southern

Central Africa, desire to express their deep interest therein, and their hope that the Bishop of Capetown and his com-provincials may be able to see fit to admit the head of this mission into the Episcopal Order before he be sent forth to the heathen.' In moving this, which raised again the important question as to missions being headed by a bishop, the Bishop said, 'The House having been occupied this morning with the general principle on which we should carry out missionary enterprise, I need not remind your Lordships that a very important practical missionary work is to a certain extent suspended on the decision of the great principle to which Convocation may arrive. It has been in contemplation to extend the Episcopate in Southern Africa, but any decision on the matter has been suspended till after this report shall have been received. A great missionary effort in Southern Africa has been planned, and to a certain extent funds have been provided to carry it out. His Grace the President has taken a personal interest in it, and contributed to it. I allude, of course, to the great effort made to follow up the steps of that great and enterprising traveller, Dr. Livingstone, in the Shisig Valley. A Church already exists there, and endeavours are being made to gather together a large number of the African race, and from that place, as a centre of commerce, civilisation, and religion, to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the knowledge of Christian truth in those benighted regions. It would greatly tend to aid that work, if this House expressed by a resolution its sympathy with it and its approval of the attempt. It would certainly remove difficulties, which many of those most anxious to spread the Gospel have felt, if such an approbation was expressed by this House, as

tending, early in the movement for the appointment of Missionary Bishops, to prevent the daughter Church from adopting, without sufficient thought or care, such steps in her several provinces, and to induce her to join with the Mother Church in such work. My right rev. friend, the prelate of this diocese, is unfortunately hindered from being here to-day; and, therefore, I felt it right to consult specially with him before moving the resolution. I showed it to him last night in the House of Lords, and he regretted that he could not be here, because his great fear has been that the daughter Church might become broken off from the Mother Church, and he thinks that that might in some measure be prevented by the development of the Episcopal office, coming not simply from the daughter Church, but with the implied approbation of the Church at home.'

The resolution was, after considerable discussion, adopted without a division. The result of this was, that in October, Archdeacon Mackenzie, with his sister, two clergymen, and a small band of laymen sailed for Africa, where he was consecrated as Bishop. The farewell service was held in Canterbury Cathedral, at which the Bishop preached a long remembered sermon to the immense congregation which had assembled to wish God-speed to the first Missionary Bishop who was on the eve of leaving England for Africa.

April 17.—Early Communion. Discussion with Rural Deans. Very successful. The morning subject: 'on means of increasing holiness in clergy.' Afternoon also good; very united.

The minutes of these meetings give the following short account of this discussion: 'Can any plans be

suggested for promoting an increase in holiness amongst ourselves of the clergy?'

The Bishop introduced the subject, suggesting possible periodical meetings in the nature of Retreats for prayer and Holy Communion, and other means of mutual edification. Such a plan had been attempted by small bodies of clergy. He then gave a slight sketch of how such meetings having a strictly devotional object might be carried on. Archdeacon Bickersteth suggested that they should be held during the Embertides; but objections were immediately raised as to the practical difficulties in the way of holding them at such periods. A rural dean then suggested that an interval should be allowed to elapse between the examination for Holy Orders and the Ordination. The Bishop thought it undesirable in any way to connect the Retreats with the Ordination; he further suggested that the Theological College at Cuddesdon would be the most convenient place for holding the Retreats. The Bishop then suggested, as a matter of management, that a small number of rural deans might unite, and select their own friends to meet at the College during the vacation; he would not limit such gatherings to the Diocese, but would admit others who desired to be present. A question was raised as to numbers; some thought a large, others a small meeting desirable. It was generally agreed that an attempt should be made to hold such a meeting in the course of the summer. The diary records this meeting, which commenced on Wednesday, July 18; the Bishop coming down from London in time for Mr. Carter's first address.

July 19.—I spent in retreat with Carter, Swinny, Warden of All Souls, Liddon, Cust, &c. &c.; Carter's addresses quite

excellent, and I hope the times of private prayer also useful. May our God grant it for Christ's sake.

July 20.—This day spent as yesterday, and I humbly trust with profit.

On Saturday, the Bishop gave the final address and the meeting broke up.[3]

April 28.—To Lavington. Planted *Pinus austriacas* on hill. To Burton Park to dinner—the Denmans'—who are the only people who are good without looking for any benefits from it. First nightingale on our common.

April 29 (Sunday).—Up early. Frost of two degrees last

[3] The following record of the Order of Services on this occasion may be interesting.

First day.—Meet in Cuddesdon College at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, July 18th. Evening service, 6.30. Tea and conversation till 9. Prayers in chapel. Explanatory address. Retire.

Second and Third days.—6.45,* Prayers and Holy Communion in College Chapel. 8, Breakfast. 8.30, Service in church. 9.30,† Short address with prayers in chapel. 10.15, Retire for prayer and meditation or spiritual reading till 12. 12 to 1, Unoccupied with special retreat work. 1,‡ Litany in chapel. 1.15, Dinner. 2.15,§ Prayer and short address in chapel. 3 to 5, Retire for prayer, &c. as above. 5 to 6, Unoccupied. 6, Tea. 6 30, Service in church. 7.15, Short address in chapel. 8, Retire as before. 9, Refreshment will be prepared in the college hall. 9.15,‖ Prayers and retire for the night.

Fourth day.—6.45, Prayer and Holy Communion. Concluding address. 8.30, Breakfast. 9, Service in church. 10 to 11, Retire for prayer, after which the meeting will be ended.

The prayers will be taken from those in use at Cuddesdon College (1*s.*), Parkers, Oxford; and Bishop Cosin's *Hours*.

Books recommended are Sherlock's *Practical Christian*; Andrewes' *Devotions*; St. Chrysostom on the *Priesthood*; Wilson's *Sacra Privata*; Bishop of Oxford's *Lectures to Candidates for Ordination*; Pinart's *Meditations on the Suffering Life of Christ; Memoriale Vitæ Sacerdotalis*, Bishop of Brechin's edition.

It is earnestly requested that all conversation shall be of a grave, edifying, and subdued character. '*Qui non mecum colligit, dispergit.*'

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* Bishop Cosin, first hour, and Ps. cxix. 1–32.
† Bishop Cosin, third hour, and Ps. cxix. 33–80.
‡ Bishop Cosin, sixth hour, Ps. cxix. 81–128.
§ Bishop Cosin, ninth hour, Ps. cxix. 129 to end.
‖ Cuddesdon Book.

night. Walked half-way to Petworth, saw first swallows near the Coultershaw Mill, heard first cuckoo in woods at Burton Park. Preached at Petworth on 'whose own the sheep are not,' then to Burton and in the afternoon to Duncton, where preached on 'quicken me for Thy name's sake.' To Lavington and back to Burton to dinner.

May 8.—To Oxford for Diocesan meetings. Then laid first stone of St. Giles'. Up and to House with J. Goring; debate on Ebury's address. He spoke *miserably*. Archbishop of Canterbury well. Bishop of London fluently, but not eloquently. I spoke—they all said best I had ever spoken. Very full. Dear good Bishop of Chichester most kind.

The 'address' referred to was for a 'Royal Commission to revise the Book of Common Prayer and the Canons of the Church.' In accordance with a resolution that had been carried in a private meeting of the Bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a negative to the proposed address to the Queen. The following is an extract from the speech made by the Bishop on the motion, which was rejected:

His noble friend [4] desired to see such alterations made in the Liturgy as would have the effect of bringing the body of the Dissenters within the pale of the Established Church. Now the noble lord could not be a whit more anxious or more earnestly desirous of bringing them back into the community of the Church than he was. He believed that such an event would be one of the proudest days of England's glory and welfare. But he believed that nothing would tend more to prevent so blessed a consummation than the existence of any wretched differences amongst themselves (the members of the Church) on those momentous subjects. But while he was of that opinion, he was far from saying that all the blame of separation rested with the Separatists. He believed, on the

[4] Lord Ebury.

contrary, much of the blame rested with themselves. He was far from saying that all the piety remained with the members of the Church. He believed that a vast amount of piety and sincerity existed amongst the Dissenters. But the more earnestly he desired the return of their Dissenting brethren to the arms of the Church of England, the more deeply did he feel how essential it was that the Church should maintain her own Apostolic Faith untarnished. Instead of believing that the object would be promoted by such an inquiry as the noble lord proposed, he was convinced that the alteration of one jot or one tittle of our services would have the opposite effect; that it would tend to the lowering of the truth of the Church, which truth had been handed to us from the primitive Church, to be preserved with the most precious care.

May 12.—Off by train for London. At Reading saw that York is offered to Longley. A good appointment.

May 20 (Sunday).—Up in good time and prepared sermon on 'All are yours.' Preached at St. James's, great crowd; collected 176*l.* Then back to my rooms and finished (Darwin review).[5] Walked across the Park with Gladstone, he rather subdued; he said, 'If the next twenty years alter as much the position of those who govern England, &c.'

Meetings on behalf of 'the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa,' the beginning of which has already been recorded, were continued during this year on May 23, 24, and 25. The Bishop went to and spoke at Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds; he was accompanied by Lord Brougham, and Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Mackenzie. The meetings were most numerously attended; it was computed that at Manchester 5,000 people were present. The speeches which were delivered on these occasions were afterwards reprinted in the form of a pamphlet; a few sentences from one of the Bishop's speeches are given:

[5] For the *Quarterly Review*.

The Gospel must be brought from without from those who had now the lamp of truth, and who had it in order that they might enlighten others as well as themselves. The grounds which should induce us to make some great and hearty efforts to carry God's truth among His people were, that they need it greatly, that they are ready to receive it, that we are specially called to impart it from our close connection with them, and because as the children of slave traders we had to cut off the entail of curses by reversing the inheritance of wrong which the slave trade had inflicted upon Africa.

From June 27 to July 3 the British Association was at Oxford: it is much to be regretted that the reports of the debates are of the most meagre description. From those which we possess, it is to be gathered that the Bishop on two occasions took part in the discussions. First in the Geographical Section, when, after the reading of some of Dr. Livingstone's recent letters, Mr. Craufurd, the President of the Ethnological Society, argued against the scheme of extending commerce and Christianity in Central Africa, on the ground of the great difficulties that had to be overcome and of the incapacity of the natives to receive such benefits. The Bishop spoke against these inferences, and, when supporting an opposite view, carried his audience by the force of his argument. Secondly, in the Zoology and Botany Section, where a discussion took place on the soundness or unsoundness of the Darwinian theory. The Bishop, who, as the last-quoted Diary entry shows, had just reviewed Mr. Darwin's work 'On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection,' made a long and eloquent speech condemning Mr. Darwin's theory as unphilosophical and as founded on fancy, and he denied that any one instance had been produced by Mr. Darwin which showed that the alleged change from

one species to another had ever taken place. In the course of this speech, which made a great impression, the Bishop said, that whatever certain people might believe, he would not look at the monkeys in the Zoological as connected with his ancestors, a remark that drew from a certain learned professor the retort, 'I would rather be descended from an ape than a bishop.'

On July 4, the Duke of Marlborough moved in the House of Lords, 'that the Bible be not excluded from our schools in India.' The motion was negatived. The Bishop was unable on the occasion of the motion to address the House; but in the following week he took the opportunity, by presenting petitions, of speaking on the subject. He said:

He had laid upon the table fifty petitions with the same prayer, that the Bible might be introduced into the schools in India; but they were not a tithe of the petitions which would pour in upon both Houses of Parliament upon this grave subject, and he would venture to predict that in a matter like this, upon which the religious mind of the people of this country was to a remarkable degree unanimous, when those who differed upon many points of Church government were united in opinion that the Bible ought not to be excluded from the Government schools in India, but that it should be accessible in school hours to all those who desire to study it, that at no distant day that question would be brought to a practical and successful issue. If there was any danger at all to be apprehended, it would arise from a belief being raised in India that the Government resisted the demand that was made because they thought it would be an infraction of the fair dealing which had been guaranteed to those who differed from us in religion, and that if the demand were carried it would be carried by the religious mind of this country, in spite of the wishes of Government. Such a belief would

lead to an impression, untrue indeed, that the admission of the Bible into schools was something at which they had ground to be alarmed, and which constituted a violation of religious liberty. It would be a danger in its worst form, if the question was left as a subject for agitation in this country. He thought, also, that the introduction of the Bible taking place after an interval would be an evil, because the native mind would form an opinion that we feared to do so as long as the recollection of the late mutiny remained in our minds, but that only when the memory of that event had passed away did we venture to take the step. There was another consideration he would urge upon the Government. He did not undervalue the dangers of our Indian Empire, but he was convinced that those dangers did not rest upon our simply giving fair play to Christianity, while we cautiously abstained from attempting to inflict Christianity by force, and from entrapping the natives into Christianity by fraud ; our security would be greater if the native mind could be taught that we abstained from those courses, not from fear, but because our consciences forbade them. The great danger was that in turning our attention to a false danger, we might overlook the real source of danger. The mode in which the question of native adoption had been treated was, he believed, full of danger, as also was the annexation policy, and he believed also the proposed change in our army system in India. He was, therefore, most anxious, without reopening this great subject, to urge as earnestly as he could upon the Government a reconsideration of the position they had taken upon this grave question.

August 22 (Isle of Wight).—Colonel Harcourt drove me to Ryde, and on to ——. Stood on seashore for hours watching the surf as I did when I was a boy, and thought I should meet Emily round every corner. My own, my lost one, my soul! Dearest one! I could have wept tears of blood. I could not help calling out aloud to her to come to me.

How fresh and enduring was the Bishop's recollection of his great sorrow, and how it enabled him to

minister the truest consolation to others, will appear from the subjoined letters :—

February 1861.[6]

My dear——,—I have just seen in the cold dry paper the news of your great loss. My whole heart bleeds for you. I know what a clouding over it is of a life. What an unlooked for—what an irreparable loss. I know it *all.* I have been through it all. I never had but one bright gay vision before my own eyes from the time I was 16—the fulfilment of my hope was my daily prayer for 7 years. It was granted me. And it was brighter than even Hope had painted it. And it was taken away again. So that I *can* feel for you. And yet I say, 'Fear not, neither be dismayed.' It is thus that the God of Love perfects his chosen ones—Sometimes, because as in my case, there is so much dross to burn out. Sometimes, as I believe it is in yours, because He sees they are capable of being lifted up so high—He puts them into the very hottest furnace heat, but ever more with such, if they will seek it, is the presence of the fourth form, 'like unto the Son of God,' and no hair of their head is hurt, nor does the smell of fire pass upon them.

My dear friend, there is a tenderness, a compassion, a sympathy in Christ for laden bleeding hearts like yours, which no love of man or even woman can even faintly represent—And if you will trust it and lean on it and call for it, you shall know it and in that light, even the desolate wilderness of life, into which your breaking heart is taking you, shall blossom as the rose. After all, life is very short and Eternity our true being,--where reunion shall be eternal. And you may think of him as safe—no more risk—no more rough winds—no more pain—Safe for ever, and for ever *yours.* Believe me that I will do my best to pray for you—that He who only can, may be your sufficient Comforter—I am ever yours very affectionately,

S. Oxon.

The next letter was to the same person and was

[6] Written to a lady on hearing of the death of her husband.

in answer to some questions as to the communication permitted with those who had departed from this world and also how far earthly relationships would be recognised in the Heavenly State.

March 17, 1861.

My dear——,—When can I better answer your letter than on this day, on which, 20 years ago, I laid in our green Churchyard at Lavington, with a broken heart, the beautiful form of the desire of my eyes? Yes, that lonesomeness is the great trial—Still, in the long wakeful nights—I have been unable to help praying with all my might to see in vision, or in some permitted way, but one sight of that countenance and hear one sound of that voice, which to me would make life again populous.

I will try to answer your questions; there is as to the first only one caution to give, it is and is meant to be, a new incentive to us, to grow fit for Heaven and for the companionship of the Saints and of our sainted ones—only we must never indulge it in separation from the thoughts of the King of Saints—our own Lord and Redeemer and the Redeemer of our dear ones too. When we thus associate the two together, the earthly love becomes the trellice, up which the Heavenly love creeps and the two are blended and the amaranthine clusters clothe the earthly framework.

As to your second question, I cannot doubt that there will be in the future world, some glorified and exalted counterpart of every earthly relation, for nothing which is real dies in God's world but to experience a better resurrection. When God has knit together two in one, when the great mystery of Christian marriage has united two into one, in all the fulness of its Christian meaning, when there has been union in prayer and aspirations and worship and service, I do not doubt for one moment that there will be a golden counterpart of all this in that world, and in whatever way it may be accomplished and under whatever names designated, that there shall be *there*, a special unity between those who have been below so one in Christ. This seems clear to me, from Our

Lord's promise to Martha of Bethany, 'Thy brother shall rise again.' It was not Lazarus, who should rise, but '*her* brother.' And Our Lord could not mock the expectation which He raised—and yet—this He would have done, if he was not to rise again as *her* brother. This implies an answer to your next question. No doubt the personal identity will be preserved, and the resurrection body of the risen Saint will be his own body glorified and not the body of another.

There is more difficulty in answering your next question, as to the disembodied spirit, because so little is revealed; the purposes of this concealment seem to be evident. It is to help us to hold our beloved ones through Christ, with whom they are in Paradise; I think it is left quite free to us to believe, that *they* see us, that they are so possessed with *seeing* that Christ is upholding us, that they can be at peace, even in our trials and our dangers, through seeing the strength of that golden chain of love which binds us to Him. I often and often believe in their presence, oversight and real (though suspended as far as perception goes) ministry of love for us, but I do not think we can say we *know* anything on this subject; we may let our mind range on freely here, only, *in the Lord* we are surest of drawing near to them, when we draw nearest to Him—specially at Holy Communion, it always seems to me, we are very close together, for that brings Him, with His Saints, so nigh to us.

I have no doubt that Heaven will be all that we can conceive of a most beautiful Earth and as infinitely more, as God's power of providing for our happiness is greater than our conception of what would make for our happiness. 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, what God has provided for those that love Him.' I have no doubt that every talent used here for His glory, will have its ten talent gift added There. Doubtless the time does not seem so long to THEM. How can it? when they are with Christ, but *the* secret is; not to look on, not to think *how* long—do not trust yourself to do it. Rest in the Lord—and be doing good. Take any useful employment for others, that presents itself naturally to you. Believe in—and try to realize—the love of Christ: when 'Jesus wept'

it was as much for you and me, as for those present mourners. He heard the long sob, which should last on till the last enemy should be destroyed. He loves you—feels for you—weeps with you—lets you rest your aching heart on Him—and this will, little by little, minister to you an unspeakable comfort and, what you will value more, it will turn your grief into a Heavenward ladder up which you will mount to Him. I pray daily for you, and am yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

The following letters to Mr. Gladstone refer to the Ecclesiastical Courts and Registries (Ireland) Bill, by which it was proposed to assimilate the final Court of Appeal in Ireland to that of England, by adding the Irish Archbishops who were Privy Councillors to the Judicial Committee. The Bill passed the House of Lords, but was withdrawn in the House of Commons on August 17.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

June 27, 1860.

My dear Gladstone,—You will see how little we did last night. The Government gave their whole strength against us, and it was only by their keeping every lord in waiting, &c., that we were at last so outnumbered—sixteen to nine, I think—that we could do nothing. I tried to express why I opposed. It is fairly reported in 'The Times.' I saw after I left you that the amendment I had prepared would not do, for that a point of doctrine rising in an Irish Court might be decided by the Privy Council, with the aid of the Irish Prelates alone, and being a decision of the Supreme Court, would *equally* bind us. I am quite convinced that the *only* course is to exclude *all* Bishops from the Judicial Committee, where their presence is simply mischievous, giving a colour to decisions they can very

little influence, and that in the wrong direction; and that what ought to be is making the Privy Council send any point on which they wish for a theological opinion, *as a point*, to the Bishops for a written reply; and keeping the Privy Council itself as a distinct legal tribunal to give legal decisions. I am at Cuddesdon till Monday, and always affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

August 20, 1860.

My dear Gladstone,—I do indeed rejoice that you have been able to get rid of this wretched Bill, and I will do my best to get the subject properly considered by the Bishops. But *you* must not forget the great aggravation of all my difficulties in that respect which is caused by the episcopal appointments of this Government. The painstaking and intense hatred to all Church views which we may expect from —— will of course still further aggravate the evil. Would it be possible to get the Government to suggest, or even to agree to support, such an arrangement as the late Bishop of London proposed, and Lord Derby supported? I fear we must count on the opposition of the present Bishop of London. I am, ever very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Since 1860 all the conditions of the question of National Education have been profoundly affected by the action of the Legislature. On this account it has been thought advisable to pass over controversies, which if discussed at all must have received an amount of attention so considerable as to be fatal to the due proportions of a biography. The questions which surrounded the Management Clauses, or the Education Grants and the reports which introduced the Education Act belong to a phase of this great

subject which has already ceased to have practical interest. But the Bishop's own plan of Diocesan Inspection ought to be mentioned. It was carried out by unpaid clerical inspectors, and was conducted almost, if not entirely, free of cost; whereas the Government Inspection was rapidly becoming an expensive as well as a formal routine. The two letters which follow give both the Bishop's and Mr. Gladstone's opinion on the 'Conscience Clause,' about this time first mooted.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

August 7, 1860.

My dear Gladstone,—I. I can answer as to the matter just spoken of between us at your house. Whether conscience clauses are right or wrong, is one question. I think them wrong. I think the managers should be at full liberty to act in their sense; and I advise all managers in my diocese to do so, and *they do*. But it is quite another thing to give Dissenters any *rights* as to the teaching of doctrine in Church schools. Churchmen will not build and support such schools; then we come to national education on an education rate. You sever charity from the work—you freeze up your whole system, you put the settlement of the doctrine to be taught into the hands of the ratepayers, and you will have most speedily schools with no definite religious teaching alone helped by public grants. But, II. right or wrong, conscience clauses cannot be enforced honestly under the existing 'minutes,' and therefore the attempt to introduce them is *me judice* a fraud; and, III. the enforcing on Church schools Dissenting managers, another of our complaints, is *me judice* in violation of (*a*) our compact; (*b*) of all reason. IV. The attempt to restrain the managers' liberty of discretionally acting in the spirit of the conscience clause seems to me monstrous; in reason and in our compact. Forgive me, my dear Gladstone, for pressing these matters on you in all your present engagements. *I want*

no answer; but I want *you* to consider all this, and the new mischief it will do if a Cabinet of which YOU are a member, is chargeable, not only with lowering our whole tone by putting on the bench and promoting to the more important bishoprics the lowest Churchmen ever placed there, but also with a new attempt to wrest out of our hands the education of our own poor. I am, your very affectionate

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

August 11, 1860.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—There are two points to be kept distinct in the matter before us. First, the question whether anything is to done *now*; secondly, the question whether anything ought to be done at all. What I understand to be the view of the Government is that for the present we should act on the present system. I infer that no change would take place without full opportunity of being heard. As far, however, as the further question is concerned, there appears to me to be an important distinction between the two points raised. For conscience clauses there is much to be said; nor do I see that they are incompatible with the due freedom of managers and unity of the system. On the other hand, I think that the demand for the permission of religious varieties in the governing body, is practically destructive, both of the rights which promoters may fairly claim on the ground of their voluntary efforts, and of the denominational character of the school altogether. This I have strongly represented to Granville, and have urged upon him that this concession, which I think ought not to be made, assuredly will be steadily and persistently refused. The only plea for it would be that dissentients ought to have protectors in the governing body; but there is no force in this plea, for the Committee of Council is their natural and sufficient protection, and has the power of the purse wherewith to make their protection effectual. But, as I have said, even with respect to the general question of conscience clauses, my under-

standing is that it stands over. I understand, however, that Llanelly school is a peculiar case—peculiar even in Wales, which is all peculiar; that the school has practically failed, and that it is difficult to renew a grant of public money without taking some provisions against renewed failure. In this there seems to me to be much force. I do not know what may be done, but were I in Granville's place I should waive the point about the governing body, and should say (assuming the facts) if you want your grant now you may fairly be required to tie it to the conscience clause. Granville tells me that in Welsh cases the Committee has in prior cases made efforts in this sense; and he expresses strongly his anxiety to maintain the *status quo*. Yours affectionately,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The last meeting on behalf of the Mission to Southern Africa was held at Brighton on October 1; it is mentioned here to show how completely the tide of unpopularity had turned. In 1858 an indignation meeting had been held at Brighton against the Bishop, when public feeling found vent in very strong expressions. The following account of the meeting is taken from a letter of one who was present:

On Sunday night the Secretary of the S. P. G. was very unhappy, dreading the mob on the following morning. Our meeting was to be held at noon in the Town Hall. I tried to persuade my friend that it was not necessary to send for extra policemen to keep order. What happened? Long before twelve o'clock the Town Hall was crammed to suffocation. The whole street leading to it was crowded with respectable people, hurraying and waving their handkerchiefs as the Bishop passed, and when he entered the room there was quite an ovation. He spoke with great energy, and the result was a collection of 250*l*.

In November, the Bishop delivered his triennial

charge ; and as it sums up the work of the diocese, it seems a fitting end to this volume. He first referred to Ordinations, on which he said that in the past thirteen years the standard of knowledge among the candidates had distinctly risen ; passing on from this, he alluded to the benefits to be obtained from a residence in a Theological College by men seeking Holy Orders. He said :

> The Universities are, for reasons obvious to all who are practically acquainted with the subject, not exactly the places to which young men who are preparing for Orders could resort, after they had taken their degree. Neither are the houses of most young men—not separate clerical houses—likely to have the beneficial influence which a well-managed Theological College has in favour of its inmates. The experience and the personal piety of the principal and of his assistant clergy are there brought to bear, with a marked individuality of application, to each one within its walls. The student has everything to invite him and to assist him to theological study—he is taught to invent saving of time and of labour, what to notice, what to learn, what to pass more lightly over. He becomes accustomed to regular hours of prayer, to religious reading, to adaptation and direction. If anything can tend to perfect the man in his preparation for his office, it would be the shelter, the quietness, the devout atmosphere of such a residence. If anything can wake up a man to seriousness, self-discipline, and prayer, it would be his meeting day by day, hour by hour, and ever presenting to his mind, as the one object of his future life, the difficult and perilous charge of souls for whom Christ died.

The Bishop then noticed that in the past fifteen years there appeared to him to be a diminution in the number of men possessing the highest intellectual qualities who sought the Ministry. After reviewing the numbers of those confirmed, which had increased

by 2,529 over the preceding three years, and noticing the advance in church building and the greatly increased number of Communicants in the Diocese, he went on to condemn the practice of Evening Communions as having no real precedent in the usage of the Early Church, and as being at variance with the implied sense of the Rubric in our own Communion Office: he accounted for the absence of more explicit Rubrical directions on this point by observing

that at the time our Offices were compiled no Christian man thought of any other time (than the morning) for its public celebration.

Alluding to Cuddesdon College, the Bishop said:

that during the past eighteen months a hundred applications had been sent in for curates from seventeen dioceses. Never have I seen with more thankfulness to God than at the present moment, the character of the work which the College has done and is doing.

Education, Diocesan Inspection, Clergy Meetings, Missions, Diocesan Societies, Pupil Teachers and Prize Schemes, Penitentiaries—were successively reviewed, and the review affords a remarkable illustration of the Bishop's success in his fifteen years' work. The Bishop, before alluding to matters not immediately connected with the Diocese, but which affected the Church generally—such as Missionary Work, Church Rates, School Rates, the Law of Marriage, the Revision of the Liturgy, Rationalism—thus sums up the Diocesan position:

'Much cause may every one of us, from the highest to the lowest, see to humble us before God, to rouse us to greater labour, to awaken us to more earnest

prayer. But we should indeed be ungrateful to Him did we not also find much to call for our deep thanksgiving, to cheer our hopes and to turn our anxieties into praise. For surely God has been pleased in a signal manner to accept and bless our endeavours. The amount of real home work which He has enabled us evidently to do, is a matter for our heartiest thanksgiving. With the deepest sense of our manifold shortcomings, we may feel a humble confidence that, to a great degree, the diocese is actively alive in its direct spiritual ministrations, in the great work of education, in churches and religious societies of all kinds, in church building and church restoration, and with all this activity there is, I believe, also a remarkable amount of peace and brotherly kindness, both amongst ourselves of the clergy, and between us and our lay brethren, combined with an unusual measure of chastened zeal and of earnestness, tempered by sobriety, both as to doctrine and to ritual.'

On December 14, the Bishop, who was returning from the West of England, where he had been engaged in advocating the claims of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and had been laid up with a severe cold affecting throat and chest, thus writes to Mr. Gordon :

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

December 14, 1860.

My dearest Arthur,—I am longing to hear from you. My attack has proved so severe that the physician here (Bath) has kept me a close prisoner, and not being able to go to Wilton, I have of course missed my letters, which have gone there. This morning I am sent home to Cuddesdon, done up with respirator, &c. I have just got 'The Times' and read its

announcement.[7] Dearest Arthur, may God comfort you and order your steps. If ever the blessing of the first commandment with promise were sure to fall on any, it is on you—your long attendance and care, the watchfulness and affection and devotion of a life you have been permitted to render. I can well understand the blank of these inactive hours which must follow upon such a watching.

And he is at rest! That just, upright, chastened, courteous spirit; that clear perception and firm hold of truth; that comprehensive, calm retrospect, ennobling all his conversation—I shall hear it no more. How does my mind now rest and delight itself on the words of humble self-distrusting faith, which he spoke to me when he did open his heart, and how grieved I am that I could not be with you in these last hours, which I have spent in feverish suffering. Well it is all ordered for us. Write to me when you can, my dearest Arthur, and ever believe me to be more than ever now your most affectionate

S. OXON.

Lord Aberdeen's funeral was fixed for Friday, December 21, and in accordance with one of his last wishes, 'that the Bishop should read the service,' the Bishop, though still suffering severely from illness, went from the midst of an Ordination examination to Stanmore, near Harrow, to perform the last service he could render to his friend. On the 19th, he writes to Mr. Gordon:

If it please God I will be with you. My cold is still trying but better, and I trust now that every hour will mend it. I shall indeed rejoice to mingle my tears and my rejoicings, (for both it must be when the haven has been won after such a life,) with yours. I more and more *feel* what the loss is. The last link of such a chain holding us to Pitt and the old giants, and such an example of unselfish greatness of character. The

[7] The death of Lord Aberdeen.

greatness of power mingled with simplicity—*the* elements of all greatness.

The Diary entry which follows, and the letter to Lord R. Cavendish, describe the funeral.

December 21.—Off at 8·15 in order to attend Lord Aberdeen's funeral. Very cold. A wonderfully striking sight. England's Premier—vanity of vanities!—Graham's tall kingly figure and bald head in the falling snow—Dear Arthur—Gladstone, with his face *speaking*—Newcastle—the light *within* the vault, a most impressive sight, engraven in my memory for ever.

The Bishop of Oxford to Lord R. Cavendish.

Cuddesdon, Jan. 2, 1861.

My dear Cavendish,—Many thanks for your very kind letter of the 14th, which I was prevented from answering sooner by a very unusual press of business. Now I must say to you, my very dear friend, how earnestly I desire for you every happiness in the new year. Lord Aberdeen's funeral was most *striking*. The vault was in an old ivy-grown corner of the *old* church, now demolished, just under the old tower. The heavy tread of the bearers crushed the snow, the great flakes falling heavily through the whole service; the form, in particular, amongst the pall-bearers of Sir J. Graham, with his massive figure and large bald head, bare, with the snow falling on it. Gladstone's countenance, A. G.'s sorrow, the light *from within* the vault. A. Gordon has spent one evening here. He is just going to Egypt to his brother on family business, and this, happily for him, makes a present occupation of thought. I hope the Duke of Newcastle *will* give him a foreign governorship, as this is now more than ever desirable for him. I have got Reginald back invalided from India, very tolerably restored by the journey, D.G., and now we are all together, except Ernest, who is on a visit to the

Andersons, but whom we expect home next week. I am getting all right; dear Mrs. Sargent feels this cold weather. I fear we have no chance of a visit from you? I should so like it. I am, your very affectionate

S. OXON.

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